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Proceedings and Papers;

SESSION III.

1850–51.

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NOTE RESPECTING THE PLATES.

The Illustrations to the present volume have been executed at different times, and by different individuals; some of them before the corresponding descriptions were written out, and others when the volume was nearly ready to be issued.

For those numbered II, III, V, VI, VII, XI, XII, the Society are indebted to Mr. Pidgeon of London. As the first five of them were etched before any others, they were numbered consecutively. The doorway at Heysham (Plate II), was copied by consent, from a print, the drawing of which was by Mr. Edward Sharpe of Lancaster. Some of the Roman Vases from Hartford are deposited in the town Museum of Warrington; but as they were all exhibited at the Society during the previous session, they are all given in the illustration. The forms of the stone implements have been taken from those which are given in several well known books. For example, those marked G are given in Akerman's Archæological Index, those marked H from Thoms' Worsaae, and L from Antiq. Celtiques. The modes of mounting are from various sources also. Thus 1 is like the occasional mounting of an Australian wamrah, and 6 like the point of a modern savage's spear; 2 exhibits a common mode of mounting rude instruments at the present hour, and 3, 4, 5, 7 are from Worsaae. No. 8 is the mounted celt from Cookstown, 9 and 10 are copied from illustrations in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (see page 43), 11 is well known in the islands of the Pacific, and 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, are from Antiq. Celtiques. The forms on Plate VII are all taken from the book of M. de Perthes, and may be regarded at once as illustrations of his mode of classification, and also of the curious evidences upon which his inferences are based.

Plates I, IV, IX, X, were etched by Mr. Hammond; by whom XXII and XXIII were lithographed. The drawings of IX, X and part of the etching of IX, were by Mr. Higgin a member of the Council. The objects given here are as follows: A, a looped palstab; B, a small metal celt; C, a "Druid's egg"; D, a large palstab; E and F, amulets; G, a horse shoe; H, a dagger with brass hilt; I, an iron securis, with the blade obliquely placed. On Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11 are from the tobacco-pipes of Mr. Lamb. Nos. 12 and 13 have been copied from Wilson's Archæology of Scotland; the former is of red sandstone, and was found in the Pentland Hills, the latter is the common Dane's pipe well known in Ireland and Scotland. No. 14, is from Willis's Current Notes for April 1851; the stem is of bamboo, and the top of the bowl of brass. It was found in taking down an old inn at Fulham in 1836.

Plate VIII was engraved for the Gentleman's Magazine in 1847. It was kindly lent on this occasion by Mr. Nichols, to illustrate the letter-press of his own paper.

Plates XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, and XXI were presented to the Society by Mr. Mayer to illustrate his paper on Tranmere Old Hall. Plates XXIV and XXV were also presented by Mr. Mayer to illustrate his second paper at page 126.

ERRATUM.

Page 55. In title of Paper, for "Tenth" Iter, read "Seventh."

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(H. C. PIDGEON, Esq.*)

* Resigned on his removal to London, January 1851.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. NOVEMBER 7th, 1850. **No. 1.**

The First ordinary Meeting of the Session was held at the Collegiate Institution,

JOHN MATHER, Esq., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Presentations to the Society were announced :—

From Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., &c.	Impressions of an Engraving, from a drawing by Mr. Pidgeon, of a Bronze Torc found in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire.
From John Harland, Esq.	A large collection of Antiquarian Essays, relating to the History of Manchester.
From Hugh Neill, Esq., Town Councillor.	A series of Reports published by the Town Council, Dock Trust, &c., respecting the Borough of Liverpool.
From John Mather, Esq.	An Essay towards the History of Liverpool, by William Enfield, 1773, (4to.)
From James Middleton, Esq.	The History of the Coronation of James II. and Queen Mary, by Francis Sandford, Lancaster Herald of Arms, 1687, (folio.)
From C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., &c.	A collection of Mediæval Antiquities, principally found in the Thames, London.
	The Head of a New Zealand Chief, tattooed.
From Rev. R. Greenall, M.A., of Stretton, Warrington.	Two Roman Vases found at Hartford, near Northwich.

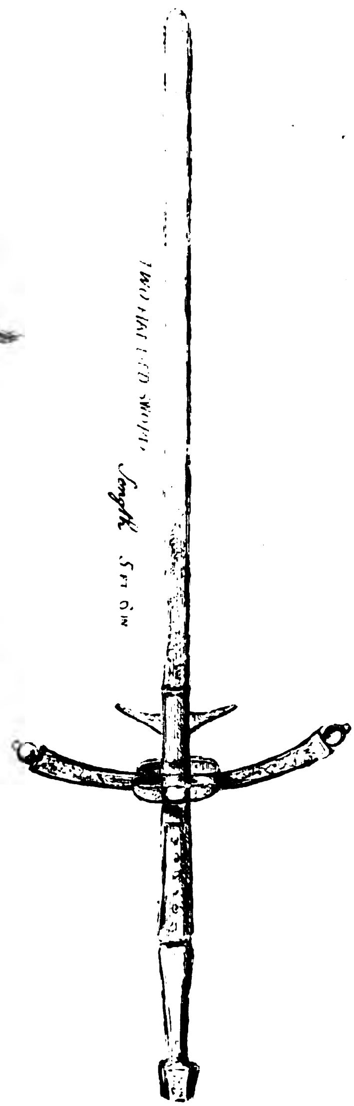
From W. Brown, Esq., M.P., per Hugh Neill, Esq.	Two of the original Stamps issued by the English Government, in America; which formed one of the principal grounds of disaffection in the country, and ultimately led to the War of Independence.

The following Articles were exhibited:—

By Jos. Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.	A very large Wall Cross-bow, with two pulleys for setting it.
	A Two-handed Sword.
	A large collection of Drawings of Old Halls in Cheshire, and of Monastic Buildings in that county.
By P. R. M'Quie, Esq.	A Gilt Medal of Louis XIII., and a Revolutionary Medal.
By J. Stonehouse, Esq.	A Brass Casting of St. Louis offering on an altar Saracenic spoils.
By C. B. Robinson, Esq.	A collection of Antiquities from Hoylake; consisting of three arrow heads, two pins, one buckle, a portion of a small square buckle, a pilgrim's brooch, a portion of a horse's bridle, two fish hooks, two small chain links, a stone amulet, clasps, and some articles of unknown uses.
By Dr. Hume, F. S. A.	A collection of Antiquities from Hoylake; consisting of staves and hoops of an ancient wooden pail, iron head of a splitting axe with part of the oak handle adhering to the eye, a portion of an ancient pair of scissors, &c., all found in the peat moss on the edge of the high water mark, from three to five feet below the surface.
	Also, numerous amulets in stone and lead, pins, fibulæ of varied structure, buckles and fragments of buckles in great variety, tags and pendants, bosses, coins, rings and thin fragments, personal ornaments of various kinds, decorations for leather, and numerous articles the uses of which are unknown. These were found below high water mark, at the point where the Antiquities are usually found.

Plate I

WALL BOW
LENGTH 3FT 6IN



TWO HANDED SWORD
Length 5FT 6IN

The following Paper was read :—

The Roman Roads of Lancashire. Part II.

On the Seventh Iter of Richard of Cirencester.

By John Just, Esq.

Lancashire is intersected in the direction of west and east by a Roman Military Road, just as it is north and south by that which was traced out for this Society in a former Paper.* This cross-road has but one authority extant for its course and destination. Richard of Cirencester gives us this in the 7th Iter of his Itinerary. He there states that a Roman Road reached from the "Portus Sistuntiorum" to York—from the sea to the midland. The first object, then, in detecting this line of road is by ascertaining the site of the "Portus Sistuntiorum." Fortunately the situation of this harbour is mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy, who places it near to the great inlet of the bay of Morecambe. As two estuaries are not far distant from the entrance of this bay we have still a difficulty to contend with. But as a portion of a Roman Military Road has been known from time immemorial by the name of Watling Street, across Fulwood Moor, a little to the north of Preston, and as this lies in the direction of Richard's line, we must endeavour to trace it out in both directions, to ascertain the site of the "Portus Sistuntiorum," and thereby establish it as the identical line of road described by his document. By following up its remains westward we are led close to Poulton-in-the-Fylde, and thereby find that on the estuary of the Wyre was situated the harbour of the Sistuntii.

This being our starting point, we must now direct our attention to such remains of this Roman Military Road as are at present to be seen in the Fylde country, and thence across the whole country. Within a mile of the town of Poulton-in the-Fylde are to be seen the first indications of the Roman Road, connected with an occupation road from a farm-house, which stands south-east of the town, down in the valley. This occupation road has, at some time past, crossed the fields to the next farm-house, in the same south-easterly direction, and indications of the road are slightly discernible along the line between the two places. But having got over the

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* Proceedings and Papers, vol. I. p. 68.

higher ground and come to a part of the flats of the Fylde district, we meet with striking remains of the road on the turfy grounds, where it has been piled up in an immense bank or agger; and serves, as it has done for years past, as a gravel bank for getting materials to mend and keep in repair the common roads of the country. Across this mossy flat the line is very distinct, and as therein ditches separate the fields in lieu of fences, frequent sections of the road are made particularly by the water-cuts made for the drainage of the district, some years ago. On the higher grounds the whole line has long been obliterated, and we are not favoured with any other evidences of the course it has taken, until we again detect it in a low hollow, towards Weeton Moss, which has not come within the influence of the general drainage, just mentioned. Here is an immense embankment of several yards in height, its base standing in the water, which cannot get off, from the isolation of its situation. Thence over the higher and dry ground, again we can observe but slight traces of the road, in the gravelly substratum it has left upon the ground, until we reach Weeton Moss, where again we have a good specimen. Here, too, modern plunder is fast despoiling the laborious workmanship of the Romans: the lack of gravel in the district leading the natives to the Road of the Romans. The gravel here seems to have been brought from the debris of some river. The line hence directs itself up the rising ground to Plumpton, and, as usual in this part of the line, has been mainly obliterated by the cart and the plough of the moderns. From Plumpton it directs its course to the windmill, on the high ground between Weeton Moss and Kirkham, which there opens to the view. Slight tracings all along verify the track the road has taken. Near the windmill the road forms an angle, and thence joins the public road, in a long continuous straight line, directly forward towards Kirkham. Numerous Roman remains may be detected in walking along by the side of the modern road. The modern road diverges to the right at the foot of the hill, and the Roman continues forward, through the well-cultivated fields, to Kirkham, without a single trace having been left on the ground. About mid-way within the long town of Kirkham the line of the Roman Road falls in with the main street, and continues up to the windmill at the top of the town. Nearly the whole length of the long street of Kirkham is upon the Roman Road, or in near proximity to it.

In the Fylde country, the Roman Road has crossed the swampy low grounds between hill and hill, and made angles or slight curves on the summits in threading its course through the morasses. This seems highly probable; for, by bringing the lines to bear on the ordnance map, every deviation from an intersection with the line it diverges from, is on the very apex of the hill intervening. The remains all along are known to the inhabitants by the name of the Danes' Pad. The Danes were not a road-making people, except the plundering inroads they too often had recourse to, to strip the poor Saxons of the fruits of their industry. Yet they seem to have found out this road, and to have used it for their convenience during their predatory visits to northern Lancashire. This memorial they have left behind them.

Kirkham has been occupied by the Romans. The high crest of the hill, where stands the windmill, abounds with fragments of Roman pottery; and urns and other Roman relics have been discovered in the vicinity. The Roman Road here deviates much to the left. It is approaching the Ribble, in taking its most direct course across the Sistuntian swamps; and now, having before it a fine open country, it inclines considerably from the river and stretches forth to the high point where stands Clifton Church. Numerous and continuous remains of the road now mark out the line—frequently bold and prominent on the headlands of the fields, and close to the fences, until the church is reached. Here again the line was too much to the right; and near the church, though no traces are visible, a deviation was made to the north, and away stretched forth the line in its course through Lea towards Fulwood Moor, already mentioned. Across several fields together, a bold ridge shows its course before the investigator. Then on headlands, and near to fences, and falling in with roads and occupation lines, and frequently obliterated, it brings us to Cottom Mill, Forward hence we can see nothing left behind it for more than a mile, until we approach Fulwood Moor, where it appears again in the road leading to that place, and there for a couple of miles, as Watling Street shoots past Preston. Beyond, in the fields, its remains are quite evident, until the line of the Preston and Longridge Railroad is crossed. Thence it is undiscernible till we arrive opposite to Pedder House. Here, too near the river, again it inclines a little northward, and having Pendle Hill in the distance aims straight towards it—numerous and continuous remains alternating with blanks, until falling into an occupation road as it ascends to

Stubbins Nook, it abruptly terminates on the high point which brings Ribchester into sight, about two miles distant.

From this point, taking a straight line to the Roman Station at Ribchester, we can detect not a single vestige of the road; the broken bank which the Ribble has made since the Roman era, and which breaks through the line, not even exposing a fragment, until we come into the grounds of the Parsonage. Here the road has been met with below the surface of the ground in draining. And at the little rill which runs down from the high ground close to the Parsonage house, a complete section of the road is exhibited on its banks, about a foot below the surface. A change this, since the legions of Romans marched to Ribchester! Then the line falls in with the road leading up to the Parsonage, and shows again its bold agger; till, crossing the foot-path to Anchor's Hill, it falls in with the mid-way point of the side of the rectangle of the Station, where would be the Decuman gate, and where a causeway under the soil in the gardens of Ribchester shew the buried remains of the "via principalis" within the area of the Station.

Of Ribchester itself we will say nothing at present, as we have a future summary to make of this and a previous, and, if spared, of a future Paper on this subject. Our evidence is not yet complete, and therefore it would be premature to address the jury of the public in behalf of a verdict. A line of road we have made up to old Cocium; but not one can we make out of it. Low alluvial ground intervenes between the station and the old ford where the Romans crossed the river. Widely changed is both ground and river since they were on the spot. Not until we have gone over Ribchester bridge and gained the rising ground to the south of Salesbury Hall, can we again find the track of the Romans. Rising the elevated ground we discern the Roman remains again close to the modern road to the Hall; and having gained the crest of the elevation the line makes a curve, and then directs itself along the ridge towards Pendle Hill in the distance. Fine continuous remains hence mark the course of the road, and the investigator can see the line before him now in bold elevations across the fields, or still more marked, near farm-houses and out-buildings, and not unfrequently in occupation roads, from such continuing on the Roman line for early and present advantage. Advancing thus about three miles, the line of the road approaches to the River Calder, and descends towards

the low alluvial ground adjoining the same. Near to Hacking's Farm the line makes an angle to the left, and shews itself in a high mound under the left-hand fence of the present road to the farm. Beyond this point, across the alluvial ground, as usual all traces are lost, nor can aught like a vestige be perceived, where it crosses the river. In fact, the river has had many a meander since the Romans crossed it. Beyond the river we soon fall in with the line again; and within the wooded bank which borders it, fine remains are soon discernible. Away by the sides of fences—here and there in the fields, the course is more or less marked, until the modern road from Whalley, to Mitton, and Stonyhurst is crossed near to Lane Side. Further on, the character of the line becomes more conspicuous, crosses Barrow Brook, and falls in with a long length of occupation road, which stretches out in a kind of vista to the modern road between Whalley and Clitheroe. On the opposite side of this road, a similar kind of old neglected occupation road marks out the course of our road; then it makes its way into the open fields, keeping chiefly near to the fences, until it reaches Pendleton Brook, where, on the brink, we observe a remarkable specimen. Yet modern improvements cannot let be this relic of the Romans. The agger has been levelled near to the brook, and a section made of it worthy of inspection. The gravel has been spread upon the surface of the ground, and a thin charred line marks out the sward covered over by the road-makers. Upon this stratum of gravel a course of flags has been laid, nicely fitting one with another, though not apparently of any definite shape or size. The flags form a nice, rounded, compact surface, now covered with eight or ten inches of soil, and of the exact width of 21 feet. This is the most complete patch of the Roman Road to be met with in Lancashire, along this Iter.

The brook being crossed, and the line again kept up, no difficulty exists either in making way forward or observing the way of the Romans. The line is about a mile to the south-east of Clitheroe, and, beyond it, falls in, as frequently is the case, with a long continuous fence, which has been set upon it for convenience. The headlands on both sides frequently show the remains of the agger. Here and there, for considerable lengths, the agger has been dug up and removed, except heaps of small stones, such as are common in the gravelly substratum. At length the line begins to ascend the higher ground towards Chatburn; and, as is usual on high grounds, it

seems nearly obliterated. As the still higher ground between Chatburn and Downham is gradually reached, the line becomes again obvious, and forms a perceptible ridge along the rich limestone pastures. Having now passed Pendle Hill, which had thrown the Romans too much to the left hand for their destination, a curve to the right is made in a very marked manner, and the ridge directs itself straight away towards Downham Hall, passes the front of the same, the present public road, and ascends the high ground to the north of the village of Downham. Here, along the crest of the same, it continues very marked, until it reaches the point where, if continued, it would have descended to very low ground, a case always to be avoided, and there breaks off abruptly. Yet at some distance beyond, considerably to the right hand, to keep along the high ground, we meet with the remains again, which soon fall in with an old road and pack-horse track, which brings it down to the low ground, where, as is always the case close to rivers, no relics are discernible, to Chatburn Brook, which forms the boundary between the two counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

A few remarks may be made on this Iter before the close of this Paper. The first is, that in Richard's copy the name of Rerigonium occurs as the first station from the Sistuntian Port on the Iter. No station, as a marked one, has been found in tracing the line of road, until we arrive at Cociùm. How is the difference in the names assigned to the same place to be accounted for? Richard's distance between the Sistuntian Port and Rerigonium is 22 Roman miles. This agrees very nearly with the distance between Poulton-in-the-Fylde and Ribchester. Yet Richard, in his 10th, mentions the station at Ribchester under the name of Cociùm just as Antonine does in the 10th Iter of his document. At present this must remain a difficulty. Nothing can warrant us to claim the honour of Rerigonium for Kirkham, though Kirkham has undoubtedly been occupied by the Romans, until some collateral evidence now hidden should be brought to light and clear up the mystery. Kirkham never was selected as one of their stations by the Romans. It was like several others, an adopted station. No Roman general ever fixed the site of a permanent station on the top of a hill, or on any high ground or barren spot; but always in such a place as Manchester, Ribchester, Overborough, &c., where all the conditions adapted for his purposes were favourable. Through adopted Roman

stations, such as were occupied for a time and for certain and special reasons, Roman Military Roads run. Their own sites, when selected, were always at some distance from the line of their military roads, and in absence of all other more direct evidence, such facts, though apparently trifling, must not be lost sight of, or thrown aside for mere conjecture.

The next remark to be made is, was the Portus Sistuntiorum a post occupied by the Romans, or merely the name of the estuary where they landed their troops, &c., on the line of this Iter? This question must stand over at present also without an answer. No place seems adapted for a station in contiguity with the estuary save Poulton itself. Its square form, and the military road directing itself towards it, might indicate such a probability; but relics are wanting, save a Roman coin said by the Historian* of the Fylde to have been found there.

A similar question likewise may be started regarding the "Alpes Peninos," given by Richard as the next station to "Rerigonium" eastward, at the distance of eight Roman miles. Does Richard mean merely the distance of Pendle Hill to be eight Roman miles from Rerigonium, or some post so called, because in the proximity? If he merely means the former he is nearly right, for Pendle Hill in a direct line is little more than eight miles from Ribchester. If the latter, Clitheroe Castle may have been the site of a Roman castellum, as a guard to the pass or defile north of Pendle Hill. Yet I have never heard of any Roman relics being found at that spot, and the Romans never rested, even for a short time, in any locality, without leaving the fragments of their ordinary wares and the coins of the empire behind them. On the ground—in the ground, they left their monuments and memorials. Lasting as their history, are their tokens in every land and region, wherever they came, or even set a foot.

Much hence remains to be done. Investigation cannot close with the determination of the relics of Roman Roads. These are indelible characters undoubtedly, and such as cannot be shaken in their evidence, wherever found. MSS. may be falsely copied. Mistakes may be made in documents and authorities. But Roman Roads are facts, and no mistake. They cannot lie. Every antiquary may find much to do still in our county.

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* The Rev. Mr. Thornber.

Our Society has yet great scope for its exertions. Not a fact, not a hint should be overlooked, neglected, or lost. A compact whole can only be made by gathering together the disjointed fragments. There wants but the master-mind to articulate the portions of the vertebræ to make out the very character, size, shape, and position in history of the skeleton; and assuredly as the relics are found, the mind will come. Little clues and faint traces, now-a days, are strange revealers of great deeds and doings, and must not be lost sight of. Even potters' names on fragments of Roman ware tell their tales and have a Roman tongue.

Mr. Pidgeon read a letter from J. Robson, Esq., of Warrington, on the subject of the Paper:—

It is now about thirty years since I heard of the discovery of some antiquities at Kirkham, and hunted out the person who found them. He was an old dissipated and eccentric schoolmaster, who had, when a young man, thrown them out of the ditch or brook at the foot of the hill on which the windmill stands. He described the bronze shield with figures very minutely, and I believe a sword and some spear heads. The spot where they were found was not far from a solid road covered with green sod, seven or eight yards wide, and sloping off on both sides from the centre, perfectly distinct in the boggy meadow, between the brook and the foot of the hill. This road I was told might be traced a mile or two to the east, pointing to Fullwood.

The old man said that the articles found were sent to Mr. Townley, and he believed they were in the British Museum. It is more necessary to say thus much as Mr. Baines, in his History of Lancashire, has expressed some doubts as to the reality of the discovery.

The difficulties of any attempt to identify a Roman Road with an ancient Iter are very great, and it would seem exceedingly desirable to set the question of the authenticity of Richard of Cirencester completely at rest—as such a fiction, if fiction it be, must tend to complicate the problem, abstruse enough before. Petrie, (in the *Monumenta Historica*,) rejects the work as spurious. Mr. Duffus Hardy says—"The fact of the author (Richard of Cirencester) anticipating objections to his book, and the apologies he offers for any mistake he may have committed, are suspicious circumstances; nor is the marvellous manner in which Bertram got possession of the manuscript, and his silence as to its place of deposit and

owner, less so. Enquiries which have been recently made at Copenhagen tend to strengthen these suspicions."—General Introduction, p. 33, *note*.

As this is one of the routes peculiar to Richard, we may naturally ask, does it offer any special evidence—any point which Bertram could not have got from accessible sources?

It is very singular that Richard, who was evidently well acquainted with Ptolemy, has never named Rhigodunum, which must have been a place of considerable importance. It certainly does not appear upon any of the military routes of Antoninus, and hence it has been argued that it was the same town as Coccium, and that in fact their names are identical. Till, however, we have some more substantial proof than that derived from a most extraordinary etymological deduction, we must receive Rhigodunum, *per se*, as a town of the Brigantes; and as it is unanimously assigned to Lancashire, we may at present follow a very general opinion, and place it at Ribchester, which was undoubtedly the principal Roman town in the county. If, then, we take the road across the Fylde as the 7th Iter, we assume the Sistuntian Port to have been in the Wyre. Rerigonium is a mistake for Rhigodunum, the Pennine Alps, are the moors on the road to Ilkely—the figures requiring correction in every instance—till we get to Aldborough, about eighteen miles to the north of York.

It is not easy to understand why the road from Ilkely should not have gone direct to York; and one might naturally infer that the Sistuntian Port must have been north of Wyre, in order to get into the York road at Aldborough. Indeed this circumstance, and the mysterious introduction of Rerigonium, go far to invalidate the whole Iter.

The Itinera of the Monk of Cirencester are substantially the same as those of Antoninus. There are some additional stations in the 10th, 16th, and 18th, but only two new routes, the 7th and 9th; and in the one which we are now investigating we find no name except those occurring in the Ptolemaic Tables. Thus in one we have the Haven of the Setantii in 17 deg. 20 min. longitude. 57 deg. 45 min. latitude, and subsequently "south of the Elgovæ and Otadeni, reaching to both seas, dwell the Brigantes, among whom the towns are," (omitting the four first as too far north.)

	LONG.	LAT.	
	deg.	deg.	min.
Isurium	20	57	40
Rhigodunum	18	57	30
Olicana	19	57	30
Eboracum	20	57	20

Now as the latitude of the Haven of the Setantii is 25 min. north of York, and as the relative position of the other places from west to east is Rhigodunum, Olicana, Isurium, which last is on the same parallel of longitude as York, is it not probable that the Iter has been concocted out of the above materials? It is true we have interposed between Rerigonium and Alicana, "ad Alpes Penninos," a very peculiar phrase, not necessarily implying a station, and less applicable to the road from Ribchester to Ilkely than any other of the mountain passes between Lancashire and Yorkshire. Stukely, who supposed that the Sistuntian Port was at the mouth of the Lune, placed Alicana at Skipton; and this would seem to have been Bertram's notion when he concocted the Iter. It is, indeed, so laid down in his map. Whatever the object of changing Rhigodunum into Rerigonium may have been, the change itself has been intentional. By the Pennine Alps, I suspect he refers to the Ingle and Pennigent mountains to the west of Lancaster.

Whatever way we look at this Iter it appears suspicious. The distances in no instance correspond. The route itself—except upon the supposition of a higher latitude than the Wyre—anything but direct, and the very curious coincidence between the Iter itself and the Ptolemaic Tables seems clearly to point out its origin.

Believe me, dear Sir, your's very truly,

JOHN ROBSON.

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. DECEMBER 5th, 1850. **No. 2.**

The Second ordinary Meeting of the Session, was held at the Collegiate Institution,

The Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., in the Chair.

The following Gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Robert Buckley, of 22, Moss Street, Liverpool.
Wilson Forster, of Willow Bank, Tue Brook.
Henry Walker Lucas, of Prescot.
Robert Tucker, of Gloucester Place, Low Hill.

The following Presentations to the Society were announced :—

From Samuel Gath, Esq.	A Tattooed Head from the South Sea Islands.
From Albert Way, Esq. F.S.A.	Impressions on Gutta Percha, from a beautiful Silver Seal of the Court, "ad recogn', Debit' apud Cestream."
	An Impression of the Counter Seal of the Abbot of Vale Royal.
From J. Dockwray, Esq., Mayor of Lancaster.	Impressions of the Ancient Seals in use by the Corporation of Lancaster.
From J. W. Whitehead, Esq.	A Messedag Staff from Norway.
From Dr. Kendrick, Warrington.	A Latten Alms Dish, embossed with the subject of the Return of the Spies from Canaan.
From the Rev. George B. Sandford, M.A.	Classified Notes and Indices to the Church Registers of the Parish of Church Minshull.

The following Articles were exhibited:—

By C. B. Robinson, Esq.	Further Antiquities from Hoylake.
By Thos. Moore, Esq.	A brief Description of the Map of the Ancient World, preserved in Hereford Cathedral.
By the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A.	A MS. Book relating to the Parish Accounts of Church Minshull.
By the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A.	A MS. History of the Family of Lever, of Alkrington and Darcy Lever.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Ancient Domestic Architecture of Lancashire and Cheshire.

By Alfred Rimmer, Esq.

It has been remarked that Domestic Architecture is the most obscure chapter in the history of our arts; that while the cathedrals, churches, and monasteries are familiar to every one of us, the houses are known only to a few, and to these not very intimately. The reasons are obvious. In the first place, the more ancient houses were so inconvenient, and unsuitable to the growing wants of refinement, that they were scarcely worth preserving except for curiosity, or for their external appearance, which was sometimes very beautiful. Again, as each proprietor succeeded to his forefather's estate, he made such alterations in the mansion as suited his own tastes and habits, generally endeavouring to keep some sort of uniformity with the old parts, so that it is very often difficult to say which is new and which old. But above all, the times were so unsettled that every man's house was literally his castle, and continually subject to the violence of his enemies. From these causes we have but few ancient residences in a complete state; there is perhaps only one perfect house in England that can with certainty be referred to the Norman period, and this is but small,—it is used at present, I believe, for a farm-house.

While the ancient houses, where not actually castles, have almost disappeared, the castles are so proverbially in ruins, that when we see one in a perfect state, it almost loses its claim to antiquity.

The study of Domestic Architecture, therefore, at least of the earlier ages, is by no means so easy as it might appear, for after the times began to

grow more settled in the 14th century, the remains are more numerous and complete; and from the accession of Elizabeth to the 19th century, palaces, mansions, and houses, become extremely numerous.

Lancashire and Cheshire contain several old Halls and farm-houses, formerly Halls, of the existence of which few are aware. Probably, in Cheshire, there are a greater number of the ancient half-timbered Elizabethan houses, than in any other county in the kingdom. There are, also, a goodly number of old manor houses in Lancashire, some of which are preserved, like Speke, with laudable care; others, like Cranshaw, have suffered from the destroying hand of the improver; while too many, like Sefton and Hulme, have been mercilessly swept away.

All that I propose to do this evening is to call the attention of the Society to these neglected relics, hoping that other members will describe them in detail, and bring them before the Society. I have not attempted to enumerate even the greater part of them, but only such as illustrate the progress of the various styles.

The residences of our Norman forefathers were remarkably destitute of comfort and beauty, being built with a view to resist aggressive attacks, and protracted sieges. All external ornament was discarded, and daylight excluded, by walls averaging from ten to twenty feet in thickness.

The plan differed according to the situation and the means of their respective owners. A hill was always preferred, and if possible near a spring; the latter served not only to supply the inhabitants with water, but filled the moat. Where no water could be had, which often happened on hills, they substituted a dry ditch, with subterraneous passages, for sally ports. Inside the moat stood the wall of the outer court or bayley, on which were often towers for the retainers and garrison to live in. This court was entered by a drawbridge over the moat, and the gate was secured by a portcullis. Frequently, too, a barbican was advanced beyond the walls, which served not only for a porter's residence, but as a strong outwork. Within this court was an inner bayley where the keep or baron's residence stood, which was also called a *donjon*, whence our modern "dungeon" is appropriately derived. It was several storeys in height; and a circular stair within the massive walls communicated with the various floors. This was sometimes carried up in a tower at one angle. The rooms, which were very imperfectly lighted by loop

holes, were destitute of panelling, and often even of plaster; but sometimes in a very few of the wealthy castles they were hung with rude tapestry. The lower storey was a place for the reception of prisoners of war, and perhaps for any offenders within the lands of the baron. It was without light; and this circumstance, with the dampness and gloominess, must soon have terminated the existence of the prisoner. Mounds were cast up in the court yard, which commanded a view of the surrounding country; and the whole bespoke an age of constant insecurity and violence. The walls were built of such stone as the neighbourhood afforded, and filled between with small rough stones, run in with liquid mortar or grout. This last was of such hardness, that we sometimes see the stone worn away with time, and the mortar projecting beyond it. A chapel was often inclosed within the walls, as at Clitheroe. We have one or two provision accounts left, and these seem to show that their fare was a set off against the gloominess of their dwelling; wine and ale forming considerable items.

Clitheroe Castle, in the north of Lancashire, was built as early as the reign of William Rufus. It was never very large, and has suffered considerably from the ravages of time; all that now remains is a square keep and part of the court wall.

The pile of Fouldray is a ruined castle on Morecambe Bay, which must at one time have been almost impregnable. It consisted of an outer court, guarded by a strong wall, with towers, and containing a chapel, but the sea has gradually worn away the basement, and strewed the shore with the wreck of the outworks. A considerable part of the keep still remains. Although this castle was built subsequently to the Norman period, the same features are retained; indeed this may to some extent apply to all the ruins of castles in this neighbourhood. I find the following passage in Camden. Speaking of Gleaston Castle, he says:—"Within the manor of Aldingham is Gleaston Castle, which has been very large and firm, having four strong towers of great height, besides many other buildings with very thick walls. To observe here once for all—many persons of quality, especially towards Scotland, had either castles or towers to dwell in, to defend themselves and their tenants from the inroads of the Scots. Anciently they had their houses kernelled, fortified, or embattled, and divers commissions have been awarded in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, made in the reign of Philip and Mary, unto certain persons to enquire how many and which castles, fortresses, &c., have been decayed, which were fit to be re-edified, and how many new ones necessary to be erected."

Beeston Castle was commenced, Ormerod says, in 1220. It is a good example of the ingenuity with which the Normans availed themselves of natural advantages. Beeston hill is inclined on one side and perpendicular on the other. The lines of outwork inclosing the outer court run across the slope, and stop when they reach the precipice. They are guarded by eight round towers similar to the Moorish, which were so general in this country when the barons returned from the crusades. The keep is at the summit within an inner bayley, and fortified only towards the accessible side. The portcullis gate has an early English arch: it is between two round towers, which appear to have had some sort of arcade round them. On the outside of the inner bayley a moat is hewn in the solid rock, "which," in the words of Ormerod, "mingles at an unequal height with the stones of the ramparts and towers above, so that the whole, both at a distant and near view, seems more like an excrescence from the rocks than the work of human hands, so singularly are the crags and the hewn ashler intermingled, and the whole mass coated with lichens and evergreens."

Halton Castle has been built at various periods: probably the greater part of what now remains is of the 13th century. Unlike those already described, it is built round a court; for as the times began to grow more tranquil, and life and property became more secure, they paid better attention to the comfort and appearance of their dwellings. The windows in the latter end of the 13th century were enlarged, and often intersected with mullions like church windows; but these looked for the most part inside to the court, while those to the outside were smaller, and more like the ones of the last century.

The halls now became an important feature, and ran up often to the roof. They were always in this case open to the rafters. Oak panelling was sometimes introduced, and the whole house had a more habitable appearance; solid and well suited to the manners of the time, when, as Whitaker remarks, a death and birth were alternately the causes for boisterous sorrow and unrestrained joy. Still, the old defences were not lost sight of. Moats were retained, with draw-bridges and portcullises, and to most of the houses was built a peel tower or refuge, in case of sudden assault.

In some dwellings of this period the entertaining rooms were on the second storey, reached by a staircase from without, the lower storey being

occupied with the servants' rooms and kitchen. These, however, are not very common.

In the 14th century, Ecclesiastical Architecture was in its greatest glory. The windows were divided into a greater number of lights, and the mullions lost themselves in every imaginable variety of tracing. Crockets finials and bosses threw off their stiffness; and all manner of interior finishings were graceful and delicate. Of course Domestic Architecture could not remain stationary, and in some buildings it almost seems to have kept pace with the churches.

Brimstage Tower, in Cheshire, is an example of this style, though not a good one; it was probably a sort of peel or refuge tower, and has been attached to a much larger and more ancient mansion than exists at present. The lowest storey was probably at one time a chapel; but now it is a dairy, for the hall has been converted into a farm house. Indeed there is perhaps scarcely a single house of this or the following century which has not suffered a similar fate; and in the unlettered tenant we have too true a picture of its aristocratic founder. Instead of moleskins, the latter may have worn miniver and cloth of gold, and instead of a flail wielded a less innocent and equally heavy sword: but in intelligence there was little difference; and a life of field sports and war had certainly not a more humanising effect upon the one, than the cultivation of the soil upon the other.

There are no good examples of houses of the 14th century in either of these counties. All that we have are built with a view to resist the incursions, perhaps of their Caledonian neighbours, who sometimes carried their depredations as far as Lancashire. Gleaston Castle, already mentioned, was built about the middle of this century, and has a most imposing appearance from its situation, and three frail towers, with a connecting wall, which are still remaining; but the mortar, unlike that in buildings of this period, was very inferior, not much better than mud. The building has in consequence gradually yielded to the destroying chemistry of time.

It is about the middle of this century that we have the earliest existing specimens of wooden Halls. They were built in the following manner. Trunks of oak trees were cut in two, down the middle. The end of each slice was driven into the ground, and the tops were brought to meet overhead. Longitudinal beams were laid from trunk to trunk, which were then

covered in the usual way. In some old buildings, the walls are made of planks, overlapping like the sides of clinker-built ships. In others they are filled in with plaster. The latter style became more general, and originated the black and white timbered houses which ornament these counties, and of which we shall have occasion to speak at greater length.

Dr. Whitaker considers Salmesbury Hall and the Grange at Whalley to be the earliest examples we have now. Though they were both built probably some time after the 14th century, they are, no doubt, very early examples. Bagilly Hall, in Cheshire, is a noble example; and Radcliffe Tower, near Bolton, was also a capital specimen in Whitaker's time. He gives a curious plate and description of it; and as it is now going fast to decay, and has greatly altered since he wrote, I shall use his own words:—"The two massy principals which support the roof are the most curious specimens of ancient wood work I have ever seen. The broadest piece of timber is 2 feet 7 inches by 10 inches. A wall plate on the outside of one beam, from end to end, measures 2 feet by 10 inches. The walls are finished at the square with a moulded cornice of oak. At the bottom of this room is a door opening into one of the towers, the lower part of which only remains, of massive grout work, and with three arches, each furnished with a funnel or aperture like a chimney. On the left side of the hall are the remains of a very curious window-frame of oak, wrought in Gothic tracery, but square at top Near the top of the hall on the right, are the remains of a doorway opening into what was once a staircase, and leading to a large chamber above the kitchen, the approach to which beneath was by a door of massy oak, pointed at top. The kitchen and apartment above, stood at right angles to the top of the hall, and are separated from it by a wall of oak work. The chamber is 38 feet long by 18 feet 5 inches, and has two massy arches of oak without mouldings, but an oaken cornice moulded like those in the hall. The floor was of thick oak plank. The height to the point of the arches is 16 feet. Over the high tables of ancient halls, as is the case in some college halls at present, it was common to have a small aperture, through which the lord or master could inspect unseen what was going on in the hall below; but in this situation in Radcliffe is a ramified window of oaken work, opening from the apartment above mentioned, but now closed up." Radcliffe Hall was built in or about the reign of Henry IV.

It is somewhat singular that fire-places were not commonly used till the reign of Henry VI. What the reason for such carelessness to the creature comforts can have been, it is difficult to say. They had been invented before the Conquest, and were neither complicated nor expensive; but our forefathers seem in many good houses to have contented themselves with lighting a fire on a hearth in the floor, and allowing the smoke to depart

through an aperture in the ceiling; a remarkable example of the light estimation in which what even our poor now consider necessaries were then held. A commotion of any kind, or the opening of a door, must have filled the room with smoke; and even when all was still, if the smoke departed through the intended aperture, it must have been singularly manageable.

Smithill's Hall, near Bolton, contains some good examples of the Domestic Architecture of the time of Henry VII. In a flagged passage to one of the rooms, is a foot-print, purporting to have been made by Geo. Marsh, the martyr, when brought up before Sir Roger Barton, in the days of Queen Mary. This room was once filled with oak panelling, of great beauty, which the present proprietor, Peter Ainsworth, Esq., has removed to another room, of precisely similar shape, built for the purpose.* The ancient dining hall, now used, I believe, for one of the kitchen offices, has an open roof, of earlier character than we commonly find in dwelling-houses, and is perhaps the most valuable specimen in Lancashire. It is earlier than the hammer beam, and has every appearance of belonging to the decorated period.

But a more complete change than any former one, was to take place in our Domestic Architecture, which is a most striking illustration of the comparative security of life and property. It must have been in the latter end of the 15th century that the timber and plaster houses, peculiar almost to these counties, began to grow common; and however well this style has shewn itself calculated to resist the ravages of time, it was ill fitted to withstand the violence of an enemy. A fire lighted at any of the corners where a post stood must soon have brought the building to the ground. Moats, however, were still retained, and in some instances even draw-bridges, but these can have been for little more than show, as many gentlemen even now will build a castellated house. They may possibly have become serviceable in the troublesome times of Charles I. They were built in the following manner. Heavy oak posts were driven into the ground at each angle, and wherever a beam rested; and cross pieces were fastened to these on the level of each floor. The spaces were filled in with laths and clay, and

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* The panelling consists chiefly of a variation of the linen pattern, with a diapered ground, and one row of heraldic and variegated panels, with heads, probably of the Barton and Radcliffe families, on the upper part.

the surface coated over with very fine plaster, which was variegated with quatrefoils, diamonds, and many other devices in black. Quatrefoils seem to have been the most ancient figures. Herring-bone work is found in both ancient and modern examples. Indeed, so much does each building alter according to the taste of the owner, and so perseveringly were the old forms copied in many subsequent examples, that it would be very difficult to form any certain system. The only tests are often inside. Sometimes the plaster is tinted, as at Chorley Hall, near Alderley, where the colour is yellow ochre. This gives a more subdued tone, which is certainly preferable.

It is difficult, or perhaps impossible, to ascertain what is the date of the earliest timbered house in Lancashire and Cheshire. Some of the most ancient have, perhaps, no records remaining. At Bold Hall, in Lancashire, there is a most curious relic—a painting of the ancient seat of the Bold family, dated 1712. When the painting was taken the hall was complete, and certainly it must have been a most princely residence. All that remains now is the tower and gateway, and some idea may be formed of its former size when we look at the comparatively small figure which the tower makes in the picture, though it is a large farm-house. It is the most modern part of the mansion. The entertaining rooms were on the second storey, and were approached by a staircase from the court-yard. There is a lobby through the middle of the house, and the door-arches seem to have been equilateral. All these are marks of antiquity. The chimneys are very tall, and unlike those of most other mansions. There is a farm-house in the neighbourhood, called Cranshaw Hall, built much in the same style, but not quite so ancient; the exterior is perfect, but the inside is sadly mutilated. Lydiate Hall, near Ormskirk, is a good example of a timbered house of of the time of Henry VIII. It occupies three sides of a quadrangle. The great hall, used now as a kitchen and wash-house, is very perfect. The ceiling is divided into panels; and at the intersection of each rib, over one end of the room, is a most beautifully carved boss. A bed-room, up stairs, has a remarkably fine ceiling also, and a highly enriched cornice. Some doors in the house are ornamented with devices of Henry VIII. and one of his Queens.

In the reign of Elizabeth many Italian features crept into dwelling-houses. We find Roman capitals, columns, and cornices, and indeed almost

all the Roman ornaments; but they are very ill-formed, and opposed to every rule laid down by Chambers or Palladio. Ionic columns, for example, were 12 diameters in length, instead of (as Chambers lays down) rather more than 8, and often ornamented round the neck with an Elizabethan frill. But for all this, however metamorphosed and extravagant the details, an Elizabethan composition, as a whole, is often very noble. Many houses in the southern counties were so enriched that it would be difficult to point out any part which could contain more ornaments. Ashlar and brick with quoins were commonly employed now in most parts of England. But though we have a few examples, as at Crewe and Brereton Halls, timber and plaster retained their ground in these counties, and the only alteration to these was inside, where they were not so much behind their neighbours in splendour. A most singular contrast does the dingy worm-eaten exterior often present, to the hall and gallery inside. Speke is familiar, probably, to all of us, and there are few more stately, venerable rooms than the dining-hall. Wardley Hall, near Manchester, is a good example of the houses of a smaller class. It, too, is built in a quadrangle, with an open court inside, which is entered by an arch-way between two chimney stacks. The present tenant has uncovered a most beautiful room of panelled oak, which before was plastered over. When I was there last summer, the Rev. St. Vincent Beechey, the well-known lecturer on astronomy, had paid Wardley Hall a visit, and examined the skull which figures so conspicuously in the ancient stories of Lancashire, and purports to have belonged to Roger Downes, in Charles the Second's reign. Strange to say, though it has been handed down from tenant to tenant as genuine, he discovered it to be a woman's. What new turn this may give to the tragic story, it is impossible to say. One of the finest examples of a house of this period in Lancashire or Cheshire is Bramhall Hall, near Stockport, the residence of Lady Davenport. This has been so admirably delineated by Nash, that any description would be useless; but it is so well filled with old furniture, and kept so nearly in its original state, that even Nash's drawings give only a partial idea of it. The ceilings are enriched with plaster; and this is certainly an early specimen, for in many contemporary houses we still find oak.

In the reign of Charles I. we do not find so many timbered houses, (probably oak trees were becoming scarce,) but bricks and stone were the

principal materials for construction. Bricks were commonly used in some parts of England in the middle of the 14th century. A writer in the Archæological Journal, vol. V., p. 35, doubts, and with some reason, whether they were ever entirely disused. There are in some parts of England remains of mansions of great antiquity, built entirely of bricks moulded to suit their situation, and still retaining their sharp edges very perfectly. In Lancashire and Cheshire we find few, if any, such examples. Sometimes in a timbered house, as at Soss Moss, (described at a former meeting by Mr. Brooke,*) the spaces between the beams were filled up with brick. At that hall, too, there is rather a characteristic stack of chimneys, with dentils, formed by projecting bricks angularly under the capping. There are some tolerably good remains, at Hale Hut, Bank Hall, and Marple; but bricks had not been generally used here till after the reign of Charles I.

It is somewhat singular that stone houses of the early part of the 17th century had a strong resemblance to some of Henry the Eigth's time. Tranmere Hall, for example, might pass for a considerably older building than it is, but for an unmistakable 1614 over the garden door, and this is even much more certain in its character than some. The windows were divided as formerly by moulded mullions, and often have a Tudor dripstone. As a general rule, however, the lights of Tudor windows were arched; but even this is no certain mark, for we sometimes find each kind of window in the same building, where they seem to be of equal antiquity. A better test is the jamb-moulding which in latter houses has a very Roman character, but in the Tudor hardly differs from the jambs of church windows of the 15th century.

Before the 18th century set in, dwellings had lost almost all their gothic character, and the substitution of sash windows for mullions, stamped the house with an entirely different appearance, which has hardly altered to the present day. At Lyme Hall, in Cheshire, and Wrightington Hall, Lancashire, are some of the earliest specimens of sash windows. Lyme is one of the most gorgeous residences in either county. Bold, Croxteth, and Bank (Warrington) are somewhat later, but much in the same style. The houses of the latter end of the 18th century differed little from

* Proceedings and Papers, vol. I. pp. 12 and 14.

those of the former. In Hanover Street there are some good examples. Foreign architects were frequently employed about this time, and many noblemen's seats now standing were built. The architecture is decidedly Vitruvian; and some of the buildings have a commanding exterior, but the interior enrichments are, for the most part, sea-weedy and stringy.

In attempting to give, in so small a compass, the characteristics of our domestic architecture from the Norman conquest, the notice of each building has been necessarily very brief. Many of them have histories and peculiarities that would occupy us an evening; and numberless others, I have been unable to allude to, as Townley, Rufford, and Ince in Lancashire, and in Cheshire Carden, West Leigh, &c., &c., all equally deserving attention and of great antiquity; preferring to point out the peculiarities of each century rather than to swell the list with examples.

At the suggestion of one of our Secretaries I have much pleasure in acknowledging, that whatever building I have wished to see, the occupant has exhibited civility and even hospitality; so that no gentleman who shall feel inclined to examine any old hall for us, has occasion to fear that it will be inaccessible.

An intimacy with the past corrects our impressions of the present. When we stand within the roofless walls of some ancient mansion, whose halls and court-yards are now occupied by rank grass, and whose mullions are thickened by moss and lichens—we cannot but exclaim, as we recollect that this is perhaps the only relic of some once mighty family—"Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis."

Johnson remarks with great force and beauty—"Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses—whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. * * That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. JANUARY 2nd, 1851. **No. 3.**

The Third ordinary Meeting of the Session was held at the Collegiate Institution,

J. W. WHITEHEAD, Esq., in the Chair.

John Holmes, Esq., late Mayor of Liverpool, was enrolled a Member of the Society.

Captain W. C. Oates, of 13, Cavendish Place, Bath, was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Presentations to the Society were announced:—

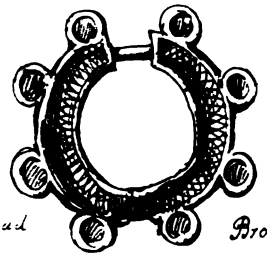
From Dr. Kendrick, Warrington.	The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used, 1618.—Reprint, 1817.
	Portrait of Joanna Southcote.
	Ditto of Richard Robt. Jones, Linguist.
	Ditto of W. Roscoe.
	Ditto of Ditto, small size.
	View of the House, (Mount Pleasant, Liverpool) in which Roscoe was born, drawn on stone by S. Austin, 1827.
From C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.	An Antique Spoon.
	An Ancient Pair of Shears.
	Shoes of the time of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.
	Two Keys and a fragment of Glass.
From the Rev. Canon Raines.	An original Letter from John Plumbe, Esq., of Wavertree, to Francis Gaskell, Bishop of Chester, relative to the Patronage of Aughton Parish, dated 7th March, 1720.

From Thomas Garnett, Esq., Mayor of Clitheroe.	Drawings of Celts in Stone and Metal.
From the Royal Irish Academy.	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy from Session 1836-7 to 1848-9—4 vols. in 13 parts.
From H. C. Pidgeon, Esq.	Drawings illustrative of Dr. Hume's Paper.
From Andrew Lamb, Esq.	The Ancient and Modern Tobacco Pipes illustrative of his own Paper.
From J. W. Whitehead, Esq.	A M.S. Translation of a Treatise on the Ancient Chronology of our Ancestors, and on Remarkable Days, by Professor Munch.

The following Articles were exhibited :—

By Thomas Garnett, Esq., Mayor of Clitheroe.	A Stone Hammer of curious material and form, found at Otley, in Yorkshire, at a depth of 8 feet, in the lowest stratum of Gravel, overlying the clay.
	A Brass Celt of perfect construction, which was one of two found in the River Ribble, at Clitheroe.
	An Ivory Chessman, formed of two lions addorsed, with a feather-shaped tree overshadowing both, found in the clay floor of a cottage at Ribchester.
By Rev. Canon Raines.	A Rent Roll of the Priory of Cockersand.
By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.	A Stone Malleus, of peculiar shape. A dark Stone Celt, of perfect form.
	Two Stone Hammers, with grooves for mounting.
	A Sling Bolt.
	Four Arrow Heads in flint and quartz, and a Spear Point in stone.
	A French Engraving of Instruments of Stone.
	A Stone Hatchet similar to the European ones, from New Zealand.
By Rev. Dr. Hume.	Two Caffre Spears, to show the way of fixing the point.
	Two Wamrahs, or instruments for throwing the spears, from N. S. Wales, to show the way of attaching points.

Plate 1.



Lead

Full size.

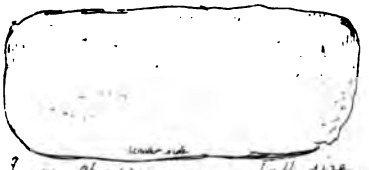
Silver.

Brooches from Hoylake see p 14

Top

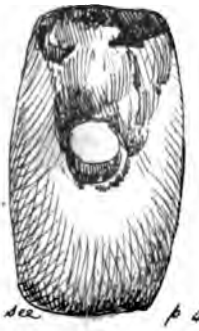
½ size

Bronze Celt, found on the Ribble. see p 26



Ivory Chessman. Found at Clitheroe see p 26.

Full size.



H. C. Pepper. The Ribchester Mallets. see p 40

By R. A. Thicknesse, Esq., M.P., Wigan.	A Gold Coin of A. Vitellius—legend on the obverse, "A. Vitellius, Imp. Germanicus"; on the reverse, "Clementin, Imp. German." This coin, borrowed from the Rev. W. Gunning, Rector of Wigan, was found recently in a field closely adjoining Wigan, and on the line of the Roman Road described by the late Mr. Sibson, in his Paper on Roman Roads, in Baines's History of Lancashire.
By Richard Peddar, Esq., Preston.	A Pen-and-ink Drawing of the Pretender, set as a locket.
	A Circular Print of those who suffered for Loyal Virtue, 1746.

The following Papers were read:—

I.—Notes on a Visit to Heysham.

By John Robson, Esq.

Having had an opportunity of spending an hour at Heysham last summer, I beg to lay before the Society the notes made then, and hope that some gentleman who has more time, and who may be able to make sketches of the very curious remains in that out-of-the-way village will give the Society such an account of them as they deserve.

Heysham is a small place 8 miles from Lancaster, on the side of a rocky hill which forms the south-west horn of Morecambe Bay. The Parish Church and Rectory are on the slope; and above these, on the top of a rock, is what remains of St. Patrick's Chapel. This rock has been levelled, and the sides apparently cut down, so as to isolate it from the hill, which rises much higher to the south and south-west; it is perhaps 130 to 150 yards in circumference at the top. The Chapel, about 8 yards long, by 3 wide, stands on the north side, and the sea dashes against the rocks below. The whole of the west end is destroyed. A portion of the north wall connected with the eastern gable—which is complete—and a part of the south wall are still standing. There is no appearance of a window, or indeed any opening at the eastern end. The south wall, which is destroyed towards the east, has a doorway near the west extremity. This doorway, between 2 and 3 feet wide, is the only part that has any architectural character. The sides

exactly correspond, each jamb being formed of four stones, which form the whole thickness of the wall The lower stones are above 2 feet high, and more than a foot wide, the thickness being about 2 feet. Upon these are two stones of the same dimensions in width and thickness, but only 4 inches high. Then upon these two larger ones corresponding with the large ones below, and upon these again two smaller ones, which form the imposts upon which a large stone, worked into a semi-circular arch, rests. This stone is of an irregular shape above, and has on its surface three arched shallow hollows, with small fillets or rounds between. The masonry, except in this doorway, is of the rudest kind. This wall, as already mentioned, is destroyed towards the east, but there is a splay of about 18 inches which shows the existence of a window.

The arch of the doorway on the inside has a similar moulding to that on the outside, but it is more dilapidated; and a third stone worked into an arch, may be seen between them in the soffit, each resting on the imposts or jambs.

The rock graves on the west of the Chapel, on the edge of the rock—may have formed a family sepulture. There are seven of various sizes; one for an infant apparently, and another for a child or young person. Each has a square hole at the head (for which a cavity has been worked) for a cross, but the crosses and covers are all gone. There are two others to the south-east; and below the remains of a perpendicular window abutting on the Church-yard. Under those on the west the rock has the appearance of having been cut down, and the field below may have been entrenched.

The Parish Church, which is to the east, is in a pitiful state. It has a peculiar arrangement of round arches, as if it had consisted of two or three aisles. The piers are formed in the same way as the door jambs described before, of large and small stones alternately, and ornamented with three bands of the rope moulding for capitals. Some sculptured stones in the Church-yard, of interlaced work, are evidently of a very early period, and well worthy of a careful examination.

There seems a great likeness between the Chapel of St. Patrick and the ancient oratories in Cornwall, which have been described in the Archæological Journal, and attributed to the 4th or 5th century. We are told by

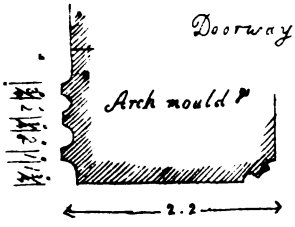
Plate 2

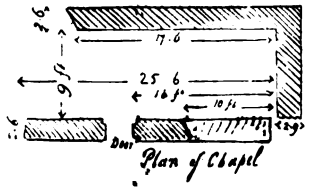
E. Sharpe

H. C. Pidgeon

3/8 in = 1 foot

Doorway at Heysham. see p. 27.





Roman Urns found at Hartford see p. 1.

Beda, that by the Scottish missionaries in the reign of King Oswald—"Construebantur ecclesiæ per loca"—in the early part of the 7th century. Whether, however, we can refer St. Patrick's to either of these periods, or whether it belongs to a later time, can only be ascertained by a very minute examination, and diligent comparison with analogous buildings, especially those of Cornwall and Ireland.

Is there any tradition of any sort connected with the locality? It seemed a very likely place for the marvellous, but my inquiries were without success. I hope, however, that some other member of the Historic Society may be more fortunate; and indeed the short time at my disposal hardly allowed me any chance of learning the folk lore of a most picturesque neighbourhood.

II.—Notes on the Use of the Clay Tobacco Pipe in England.

By Andrew James Lamb, Esq.

Though the history of the use of Tobacco in England is well known, that of the Pipes in which it was smoked has excited but little attention, and on this account alone, the data from which the age of Clay Pipes may be determined are very limited.

The first question involved in the inquiry is that of the introduction of Tobacco into this country. Opposed to those who give the merit of it to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, are others who assert the date to be far anterior to this. Savary, in his "Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce," dated Geneva, 1723, says that Tobacco was known among the Persians upwards of 400 years before the time he wrote, and supposes it to have been obtained from Egypt. Ewlia Effendi, a Turkish traveller, states that a Pipe head, retaining the smell of Tobacco smoke, was found in cutting through the wall of a house built in Constantinople before the birth of Mahomet.

At Bannockstown, in Kildare, in the year 1784, a human skull was dug up, between the teeth of which a short black Pipe was discovered. About the same time other Pipes were found of a similar shape to this one, which is very peculiar. These, together with human bones, were found in stone coffins on the banks of the Liffey. In the "Anthologia Hibernica" an account of these Pipes is given, in which the writer supposes them to have

belonged to Danes killed while fighting with the native Irish, in the 10th century. In several parts of North America, Pipes are found imbedded in Tumuli of very great age, on some of which are trees of 300 years' growth. Whether Tobacco or some other vegetable of similar character was smoked in these Pipes is a point of dispute, but one which does not concern the question at issue.

If Sir Walter Raleigh was not the first to introduce Tobacco into England, it was undoubtedly through his example that the habit of smoking became general. His Tobacco-box is described as being capable of holding about a pound of the "weed," and being surrounded by a plate of metal pierced with holes for holding Pipes.

In 1598 Pipe smoking was practised at theatres and places of public amusement, and was one of the accomplishments of the gentlemen of that day.

The fact of the prevalence of the custom about the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century may be ascertained from the frequent mention made of it in the writings of authors of that period. Spenser in the "Fairy Queen," Ben Jonson in "Every Man in his Humour," and King James I. in the well known "Counterblast," alike make mention of it. It is also evident that about this time Tobacco-smoking was much prescribed medicinally. Dr. Everard, in a pamphlet entitled the "Panacea, or the Universal Medicine, being a discovery of the wonderful virtues of Tobacco," speaks of it in this light.

The Pipes in the Museum of the Society marked Nos. I. to XII. were found in the bed of the Thames, near Putney Bridge, and are specimens of the forms used between the years 1600 and 1800. Great numbers of these Pipes are found in the same river, particularly between London Bridge and Teddington, a distance of some thirty miles. The great number of these and other antiquities found in this part of the river may be accounted for from the circumstance of its having been a highway of communication for so long a time. Nos. I. and II. are specimens of Pipes used about 1688; Pipes exactly similar to these being found at Hoylake, in Cheshire, on the site of the camp where the troops of King William III. were located previous to their embarkation for Ireland; and also on the battle field of the Boyne, at Dundalk, and in other parts of Ireland where these troops were

Plate IV

quartered. From the circumstance of a large number of these being Dutchmen, it is possible that some of the Pipes may be of Continental manufacture. In the painting known as the "Trumpeter," by Francis Van Mieris the elder, a Pipe is represented in the mouth of the trooper, the shape of which is exactly similar to that marked No. II. Van Mieris flourished during the latter half of the 17th century, and the dress of the man represented in the picture being of that period, it is pretty certain, from the well known accuracy of delineation of this painter, that the Pipe depicted is such a one as was used during his lifetime. The characteristics of this sort of Pipe were a thick short stem, seldom or never more than 10 or 12 inches in length, and straight; a small bowl, thick at the bottom, and capable of holding but little Tobacco; and a short flat heel, on which the Pipe will stand with the bowl upright.

This kind was probably used as early as 1600, or even a little earlier, making it the first kind of Pipe manufactured in England.

As Pipes become modern it will be observed that they lose much of their heavy clumsy appearance: the stem becomes thinner, longer, and more curved; the bowl larger, and more open at the top; and the heel smaller, and more pointed.

The specimens marked IX., X., and XI. very much resemble those represented in Hogarth's drawings, and probably were smoked during the greater part of the 18th century.

The size, quality, and form of Clay Pipes manufactured in England differ greatly according to the localities from which they come. Scotch, Irish, and English made Pipes are easily distinguishable.

At the present time the use of Clay Pipes is very general among the better class of smokers, and on this account the finish of Pipes is more attended to. From all parts of the kingdom and elsewhere, Clay Pipes are sent to London, (many of them being manufactured for the purpose.) Nor have they been left wholly destitute of ornament.

The varieties of ornamented Pipes are endless; some of great beauty are to be seen. To Pipe smokers these must be of considerable interest, and to others they will possess some as being a branch of art manufacture.

III.—On certain Implements of the Stone Period.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

I.—Introduction.

In a Society like ours, it is evident that many objects which are exhibited from time to time, or which reach us as donations, are in a great degree valueless to the majority, for want of some explanation. Yet a brief statement of the facts which have been ascertained, and of the opinions which have been held, on these subjects, is quite compatible with our general objects; indeed it is not only allowable but requisite, that we should at times descend to elementary instruction. I have been guided in the selection of the present subject, by the objects which were presented to the Society last Session by Mr. Bragge of Chester; in flint, stone, brass, and bronze. They were said to be a portion of the collection of the late Dean Dawson, of St. Patrick's, Dublin; but that description of them can hardly be correct. The whole of the Dean's splendid collection was purchased from his family, by the Royal Irish Academy, in 1841, for £1,000;* and forms at present the principal feature in the Antiquarian collection of the Academy.

During the last century and a half, certain small objects of stone have at intervals attracted the attention of the curious. The vulgar supposed them to be the result of witchcraft; unguided tradition sometimes called them "thunder stones;" the unreflecting attributed the peculiarity of their shapes to mere accident; the more intelligent saw that their forms must have been the result of human agency. Subsequently, they acquired the names of stone hammers, stone hatchets, arrows, &c. From a slight connexion in their form, and an evident connexion in their general purpose, with certain metallic instruments called *celts*, the name is often extended to these also, with or without the qualifying prefix "*stone* celts." It is not clear that the term "celts," as applied to these instruments, had originally the slightest reference to any particular race of men; it is unquestionable, however, that the word has given them a popular identification with the Celtic races of Europe, and consequently has tended to assign them to a particular era.

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* Proceedings, ii. 383.

An extended examination of the products of human skill has led to a more minute grouping of objects by Mr. C. J. Thomsen of Copenhagen: and to a corresponding classification of the tribes of mankind. Thus, the readiest implements which present themselves to a primitive people, are those which require little or no preparation—as the club formed from a broken bough, the dagger from an antler of the deer, the spear point from a tusk or splintered bone. Omitting vegetable substances—the objects of this æra of civilization include bones, horns, and shells, and it is known as the Bone Period. Next in refinement and skill are the objects of the Stone Period, of which it is our business to treat at present. The period at which metals were worked must have been subsequent, and the simplest metals must have been first used. Thus copper, either in its primitive state, or under the modification of bronze, (called "brass,") was used from very early times, and is the metal of which we first read in the history of any country. The æra during which it was exclusively or mainly used, is called the Bronze Period. Later still in the use of the metals, we have the Iron Period, and in the advanced stages of it the use of Steel.*

It is not to be supposed that these four periods are distinguishable by dates, or that they can be marked with definiteness in any country of the world.† The division simply serves to show the natural order in which the labours of man *must* have progressed; and the difference of material is sufficiently marked to make the classification easily remembered. But in every country, there are or have been people of different degrees of advancement. The ignorant in past ages, as well as now, would use the simple

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* When Worsaae is quoted in this paper, the following work is alluded to:—"The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark, by J. J. A. Worsaae, translated and applied to the illustration of similar remains in England, by William J. Thoms," 8vo. London, 1849. He treats only of the Stone Period, the Bronze Period, and the Iron Period, scarcely noticing the instruments of Bone at all.

About a month after this paper was read, a volume was published, entitled "The Archæology & Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, by Daniel Wilson, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," 8vo. London, 1851. He follows Worsaae in treating of these three periods, which are called (1) the Primeval or Stone Period; (2) the Archaic or Bronze Period; (3) the Teutonic or Iron Period. But he adds (4) the Christian Period. Under the "weapons and implements of the Stone Period," he gives those of *bone;* and illustrations of them appear at pages 141, 143, and 144, of his book.

M. de Perthes notices implements of bone, shell, horn, and wood; but they are naturally included in his more general subject.

† When Columbus discovered America the use of iron was unknown, and many of the simple natives did not use even copper or bronze.

implements of their fathers, while the more intelligent would adopt whatever had been found most suitable. Thus, while every age of man must have belonged to some one or other of these great epochs, almost every age of the past presents us with more than one of the grades of civilization; the individuals being contemporary and possibly living adjacent to each other.

If, instead of examining only one country of the world, we look to the whole family of mankind, we find even now, the Caffre pointing his spear with bone or the teeth of the shark; the New Zealander hewing down his foe with a stone axe; the negro of Western Africa working in copper or gold because it is easily managed; and the European—like Solon with Crœsus,—preferring iron even to the precious metals. Thus, the grades of civilization still exist at different parts of the globe; and the analogy of existing customs, which are well known, will assist us in examining a less civilized period in the population of our own or of neighbouring countries.

II.—Locality.

It would perhaps be impossible to name a county of England in which objects of stone have not been procured; for they are now become so common that except the specimens be peculiar in form, material, number, or other circumstance, they are rarely thought worthy of a separate notice in Archæological publications. Some of the places in our own country, with which they have been in a great degree identified, are Northumberland, Lancashire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Dorset, Devon, and Derbyshire. In February, 1847, Mr. Bruce exhibited several at the Society of Antiquaries, from Farnham All Saints, in Suffolk.* Mr. Brand exhibited another from Stowe Market, in the same county, figured in the Archæologia.† At Hoxne, also, in the same county, a large number were found, some of which were described by Mr. Frere, in the Archæologia.‡ In August, 1850, Mr. G. J. Chester found several flints in the "Three Farthing Hill," which is one of the Lowes, near Holt, Norfolk.§ Mr. Shirley exhibited to the Archæological Institute, in May, 1845, an axe found on Stanton

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* Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities of London, vol. i., p. 173.

† Archæologia, xvi. 361. ‡ Ibid, xiii. 204. § Proceedings of Archæological Institute for December 6th, 1850.

Moor, Derbyshire.* Others have been found in large numbers, at an examination of the Barrows, in Dorset; and by Lord Londesborough, in Barrows, near Scarborough.† In 1834, several were found in a primitive coffin near Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire,‡ and one was also found near Otley.§ In 1846 a large stone celt was found at Flixton near Manchester, in an ancient bank of the Mersey.‖ One in the possession of Mr. Mayer, of this town, was found near the druidical circle of St. John's, Cumberland. Mr. Henry Norris procured some near South Petherton, in Somersetshire.¶ Numerous objects have been found in a cave near Torquay, Devonshire.**

Similar articles have been found at various times in Wales, especially in Anglesea,†† and a description of some arrow heads, and a knife, is given in the Archæologia Cambrensis, by W. Wynne Foulkes, Esq.‡‡ They were found at Moel Fenlli, in the Vale of Clwyd. A curious hammer was found at Llanmadock in Gower.‖‖ Several large hammers were found in 1849 at Llandudno, near Great Orme's Head.

In Scotland, they are common from the north to the south. One of polished granite, found near the Border, is explained by Lady S. Riddell, in a letter which is inserted in the Archæologia.§§ Mr. Wilson also describes several, both of flint and stone. Thus arrow heads and flint knives in great variety have been found in Shetland and Orkney;¶¶ and at the Hill of Down, near Banff, a large collection of arrow heads was found, of which thirteen, all of the barbed kind, were found in one urn.*† In the moss of Blair Drummond in Perthshire, flint arrow heads have been found;*‡ and a remarkably beautiful one in the Isle of Skye.*‖ This last is now in the possession of Mr. John Bell of Dungannon; and a wood-cut of it is given in Mr. Wilson's book. At Craigengelt in Stirlingshire, a spear head of silex was found;*§ a flint adze in Ayrshire;*¶ and arrow heads at Closeburn in Dumfries.*†† Stone celts and adzes have been found at Blair Drummond*‡‡; and a stone celt was found within an ancient canoe, turned

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* Archæological Journal, ii. 202. † Journal of Archæological Association, iv. 103. ‡ Worsaae xv. § Ante, p. 26. ‖ Proceedings of Archæological Institute for 1st November, 1850. ¶ Archæological Journal, i. 165. ** Torquay Directory, 1850. †† Pennant's North Wales. ‡‡ Vol. i. new series, p. 85. ‖‖ Archæological Journal, iii. 94. §§ Archæologia, v. 414. ¶¶ Wilson, p. 127. *† Ibid, pp. 61, 126. *‡ Ibid, p. 34. *‖ Ibid, p. 126. *§ Ibid, p. 127. *¶ Ibid, p. 61. *†† Ibid, p. 122. *‡‡ Ibid, p. 129.

up in 1780 in the city of Glasgow.* Granite wedges of stone have been found at Southwick in Kirkcudbrightshire†; at Mains in Dumfries‡; and at Tealing in Forfar.‖

In the Isle of Man they have also been found; and in the Channel Islands they are very numerous. Mr. Lukis, whose researches in those islands are well known to antiquaries, has figured and described several in the Journal of the Archæological Association.§ He says that about a hundred stone celts have from time to time been picked up in Guernsey alone.¶

Of Ireland, Mr. W. F. Wakeman declares that "stone weapons have been found in every county; but in Ulster especially, they are very common."** A large number of stone hatchets and stone hammers have been presented recently to the Royal Irish Academy by the Shannon Commissioners—found by the workmen in and near the river. Many of them are so uniform in size and appearance, that they have been ranged in figures like the instruments in an armoury, and form pretty ornaments on the walls of the Museum.

Mr. Worsaae of Copenhagen recognises them in Denmark, and over the north countries generally, especially in Sweden and Norway, the ancient Scandinavia.††

In France they are found in large numbers; and the immense varieties collected by M. Boucher de Perthes, near Abbeville, have enabled him to extend his inductions, so as to throw a new light on the whole subject.‡‡

In Germany they have been found on the banks of the Elbe‖‖; and probably in several other situations.

If we pass to America, we find them in Jamaica,§§ and also among the early Mexicans.¶¶ In the continent of North America we find them

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* Wilson, p. 35. † Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, xvii. 110. ‡ Archæologia, vii. 414. ‖ Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, iv. 101. § iii. p. 127. ¶ Archæological Journal, i. 226. ** Hand Book of Irish Antiquities, p. 153. †† Worsaae, pp. 11, 12. ‡‡ "Antiquités Celtiques et Antediluviennes: Memoir sur l' industrie primitive et les arts a leur origine. Paris, 1849." It is illustrated with 80 plates representing 1600 figures. ‖‖ Archæologia, ii. 118. §§ Antiquités Celtiques, 113. ¶¶ Archæologia, ii. 118. Robertson's America, Book V.

sometimes near the surface, and sometimes deep below. A few years ago a skeleton of the *Mastodon Giganteus* of Cuvier, was exhibited in this town, the bones of which had been dug up at the river Pomme de Terre, in the basin of the Mississippi. Beneath some of the ribs were found flint arrow heads,* indicating the contemporaneous presence of man. In the same valley, the tumuli disclose numerous stone celts, hammers, and arrow heads, like those in our own Barrows.† M. de Perthes has in his possession three small axes very similar in size, material, and form, one of which was obtained near Abbeville, another at Naples, and the third at Calcutta.‡ The second and third may have been carried to those places, or they may have been indigenous. They are also found in Japan, the South Sea Islands,‖ with the Esquimaux, the Fins, and the Bosjesmans.§ Flint flakes and arrow heads have been found on the tomb of the Plateans at Marathon.¶

As a general rule, they are more frequently found on the sea coast, and near the banks of rivers, than elsewhere;** and this is just the sort of situation which a primitive people would occupy.

Mr. Payne Knight says†† that they are only found in the northern and eastern portions of the Roman Empire; France in the south being the only country that is exceptional.

III.—Forms.

If we except those that are made of flint, the forms are simple and well known. The stone implements may be divided into two great classes, the *malleus* or hammer, which is perforated with a hole, and the *axe*, which was occasionally mounted and used for other purposes. In the manufacture of them, it sometimes occurred that a natural hole in a stone was taken advantage of, to make a malleus or large hammer.‡‡ There are also the implements of flint.

M. de Perthes remarks, that the principal forms were fixed and undeviating,‖‖ and there is unquestionably a great similarity in the articles of

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* Testimony of Mr. Koch, the finder and exhibiter. † Smithsonian Contributions, vol. I. quoted by Wilson, p. 102. ‡ Antiquités Celtiques, 112. ‖ Worsaae, 23. § Wilson, 29. ¶ Ibid, 212. ** Antiquités Celtiques, 82. †† Archæologia, xvii. 220. ‡‡ Antiquités Celtiques, 327. ‖‖ Ibid, 112.

the same class. Four or five types are all that are generally known, the rest are merely modifications of these. The following are a few varieties.

In 1770, Mr. Pegge described one at the Society of Antiquaries, an engraving of which is given in the Archæologia, which united the properties of the malleus and axe. It was 9 inches long, 2¼ broad (thick?), and 7 lbs. in weight.

One in the possession of Mr. Mayer resembles this; but is ground or split off at one side of the edges.

In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there is one from New Zealand, with rounded shoulders; it appears designed more for ornament than for use.

In the Archæological Journal,* and in Worsaae,† is the representation of one which was exhibited by Mr. Francis, found at Gower, in South Wales. Though of the malleus form, it is wedged at both edges like a double axe.‡

On April 2nd, 1846, William Bromet, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., exhibited drawings of two at the Society of Antiquaries,|| which belong to the Museum at Douai in France. One (which is of gneiss, and was found at Cantin Douai,) is engraved with rude lines exhibiting a human head with a conical cap, from each side of which hangs a broad label. The other (which is of striated green jasper, and was found near Arras,) bears a representation of a human head with a conical cap, sculptured in relief.

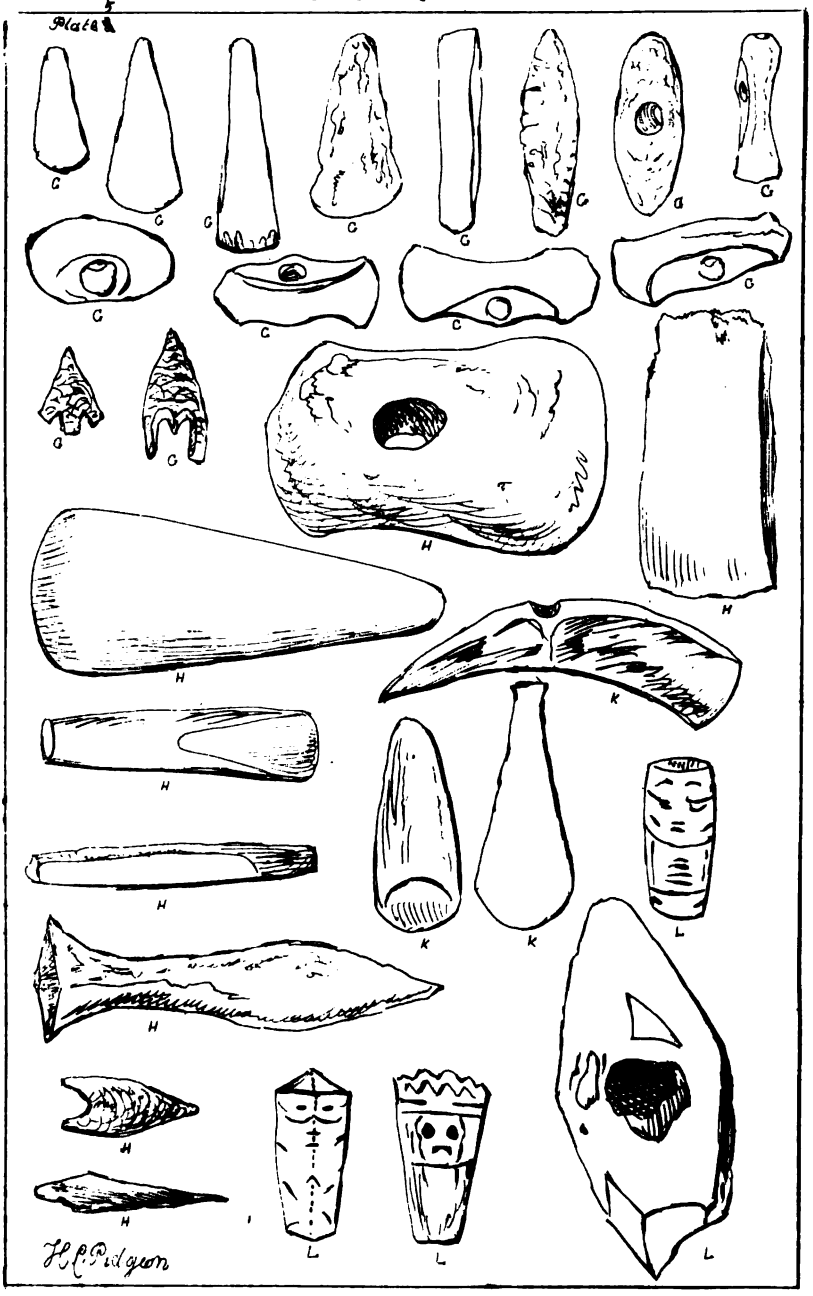
A similar wedge from New Zealand, in my own possession, is not rounded towards its two sides, but squared like a metal chisel. It is called by the natives a *pomam toki*.

Those found at Hoxne in Suffolk were of the axe shape and size, though of *flint*, which is unusual. They are engraved in the Archæologia, Vol. iii. p. 204, and appear about the following dimensions:—

	INCHES.	INCHES.
Length	5	3½
Breadth	2½	2½
Thickness	1¼	1

* Vol. iii. p. 67. † p. 15. ‡ For the best ordinary specimen see Archæological Journal, iii. 94. || Proceedings, 131.

FORMS



In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy is the model of a spear from Copenhagen of flint. It is a perfect imitation of a metal spear; and is supposed to have been made by a rude people who lived on the borders of a civilized one.

There is also in the same museum a model of a flint saw, the original of which is at Copenhagen.

The usual form of flint objects, however, is that of arrow heads; and in this form they are well known. Some of the shapes are so rude that the objects would hardly be suspected to be the productions of human skill; but a little examination shows that they have been artificially formed. The flint was usually brought to its peculiar form by repeated strokes: it was rarely ground or polished, though that process was necessary with stone of other kinds. The details of the manufacture are still a mystery: some have supposed that the stone was boiled, or worked under water.* Numerous articles called "flint flakes" have been found from time to time in Scotland; apparently the raw material from which knives and arrow heads were formed.† But within the last year, an account has been published of the discovery of a primeval workshop, with the materials and manufactures in different stages of progress. This was in Kent's Hole Cave, near Torquay, in Devonshire, described by the late Rev. J. MacEnerny.

"In sinking a foot into the soil [of the common entrance,] we came upon flints in all forms, confusedly disseminated through the earth, and intermixed with fossil and human bones, the whole slightly agglutinated together by calcareous matter derived from the roof. My collection possesses an example of this aggregation in a mass, consisting of pebbles, clay, and bone, in the midst of which is embedded a fine blade of flint, all united together by sparry cement. The flints were in all conditions; from the rounded pebble as it came out of the chalk, to the instruments fabricated from them, as arrow and spear heads and hatchets. Some of the flint blocks were chipped only on one side, such as had probably furnished the axes; others on several faces, presenting planes corresponding exactly to the long blades found by their side, and from which they had evidently been sliced off. Other pebbles, still more angular, and chipped at all points, were no doubt those which yielded the small arrow heads. These abounded in by far the greatest numbers. Small irregular splinters, not referrible to any of the above divisions, and which seem to have been struck off in

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* Worsaae, 22. † Wilson, pp. 121, 122, 123.

the operation of detaching the latter, not unlike the small chips in a sculptor's shop, were thickly scattered through the stuff, indicating that this spot was the workshop where the savage prepared his weapons of the chase, taking advantage of its cover and the light." *

Sometimes the pieces of flint were chosen from possessing peculiar forms, or were made to assume them: as that of a human head, face, foot, hand, or a portion of a bird or a beast. M. de Perthes has collected a large number of them, and the resemblances, though not very striking, are certainly discernible.† After a minute examination of all the objects, he has classed them as follows:—

1. Wedges or Hatchets (*coins*).
2. Knives.
3. Sling Bolts.
4. Arrow Heads.
5. Balls.
6. Symbolic Figures.

This leaves out of account the largest kind of all, viz., the mauls or heavy hammers. Perhaps he includes these in his first class of wedges.

IV.—Sizes.

The stone hatchets vary in length from about 3 inches to 13; or if we take in the smallest objects in flint, they descend to 1 inch. Those which have been inserted in wooden handles are from 5 to 2 inches long, and those that have been mounted in handles of stag's horn are about 4½ to 5½ inches.‡

Mr. Shirley's, from Derbyshire, measured 8 inches in length, and the breadth of the sharp edges was 3 inches.|| Lady S. Riddell's was 9 inches long by 4½ broad.§ The dimensions of several others have been given; and one exhibited by the Rev. John Brand,¶ was 5 inches long, 1 thick, and 2 broad. Those which are exhibited this evening, vary from 8 to about 3 inches in length. The dimensions of two are as follows:—

	New Zealand.	Otley, Yorkshire.
Length	8	6½
Breadth	2¾	3
Thickness	¾	2

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* Cavern Researches, &c., in the Torquay and Tor Directory, quoted by Wilson, pp. 185, 186. † Antiquités Celtiques, Chap. xx., "Types Primitifs des Monumens Druidiques." ‡ Antiquités Celtiques, 119. || Archæological Journal, ii. 202. § Archæologia, v. 414. ¶ Archæologia, xvi. 361.

The stone celt found in Glasgow was 5¼ inches long, and 3⅜ at its broadest part.* The flint spear head from Stirlingshire was 15 inches long.† The mauls from Llandudno weigh from two to forty pounds, and are supposed to have been employed for crushing the copper ore.‡

V.—Materials.

On the 9th of June, 1847, Mr. Lukis explained to the Archæological Association, the materials of which the celts in the Channel Islands are composed. They are the following:—

1. Serpentine.
2. Greenstone.
3. Granular Greenstone.
4. Indurated Claystone.
5. Trap Greenstone.
6. Claystone.
7. Quartz.
8. Syenite.
9. Schistus.
10. Yellow Hornstone or Chert.
11. Granular Porphyry.
12. Silicious Schist.
13. Serpentine or Jade.

Those in Kent's Hole Cave at Torquay were of flint, chert, and sienite; and several in Scotland are of madreporite and slate.‖

Those in the Museum of Douay, already alluded to, are of different materials. Lady S. Riddell's was granite, and several other Scotch specimens are of the same material.§ Several in France are of white silex;¶ and in general in the north of France they are made of flint; a fact which is accounted for by the abundance of the material in the district. The stone of which Mr. Garnett's malleus is formed is called *calliard* in the neighbourhood of Clitheroe; and the man who earns his livelihood by breaking stones, objects strongly to the heap which contains many of this kind.

The *pomam toki* is of greenstone; and a very large number of those found in Scotland are of greenstone, though none of that material exists in the districts. The one from the Glasgow canoe is of this material.**

In France, some are of brown freestone; but in general those are the best and admit of the highest polish that are formed from the primitive rocks.

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* Wilson, p. 85. † Ibid, p 127. ‡ Ibid, p. 206. ‖ Ibid, pp. 128, 129, 186.
§ Ibid, p. 106. ¶ Antiquités Celtiques, 105. ** Wilson, p. 129.

From the large quantities of flint flakes and flint arrow heads which have been found in Scotland, the natural inference has been drawn that they were the articles of a rude commerce. In many parts of Scotland flint does not exist, yet, like the axes of greenstone, flint objects are found there occasionally in large numbers. The Nimrods of those days, the slayers of man and beast, fish and fowl, exchanged, no doubt, their own manufactures for articles so indispensable. M. de Perthes is not far wrong, therefore, if at all, in calling them *Money*, or a medium of exchange.*

A curious circumstance which has been brought to light by M. de Perthes is, that some of the celts or axes are made of *soft materials*, though as perfect in shape or form as the hardest. Some are made of chalk, others of bitumen, and even of wood.† The wood is of various kinds, but oak predominates ;‡ perhaps the explanation is, that it has better resisted the disintegrating properties of the earth and moisture.

VI.—Mounting.

In former times, the hatchets and their handles were found apart, and were known separately; but not having been found in connexion, their relation was not understood. Some years ago, however, one was found in its handle in a bog near Cookstown, in Ireland. It was possessed by Col. Stewart of Killymoon Castle; is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; and a representation of it is in Mr. Worsaae's book. This fact led at once to an erroneous conclusion; it was assumed that *all* such hatchets had been mounted in handles, and the inquiry respecting the general design of the implements took a new turn. It was soon found, however, that this was not correct. Mr. Clibborn, the talented curator of the Royal Irish Academy, is very handy; and he showed me his utter failure in an attempt to place them in handles. In fact, when the hatchet is of an oval or elliptical shape—and this, be it observed, is the usual one,—it is quite impossible to make it remain in its place in the handle. M. de Perthes, from a similar examination, frankly admits that the majority never were in handles, and says that they never were intended to be in them.‖

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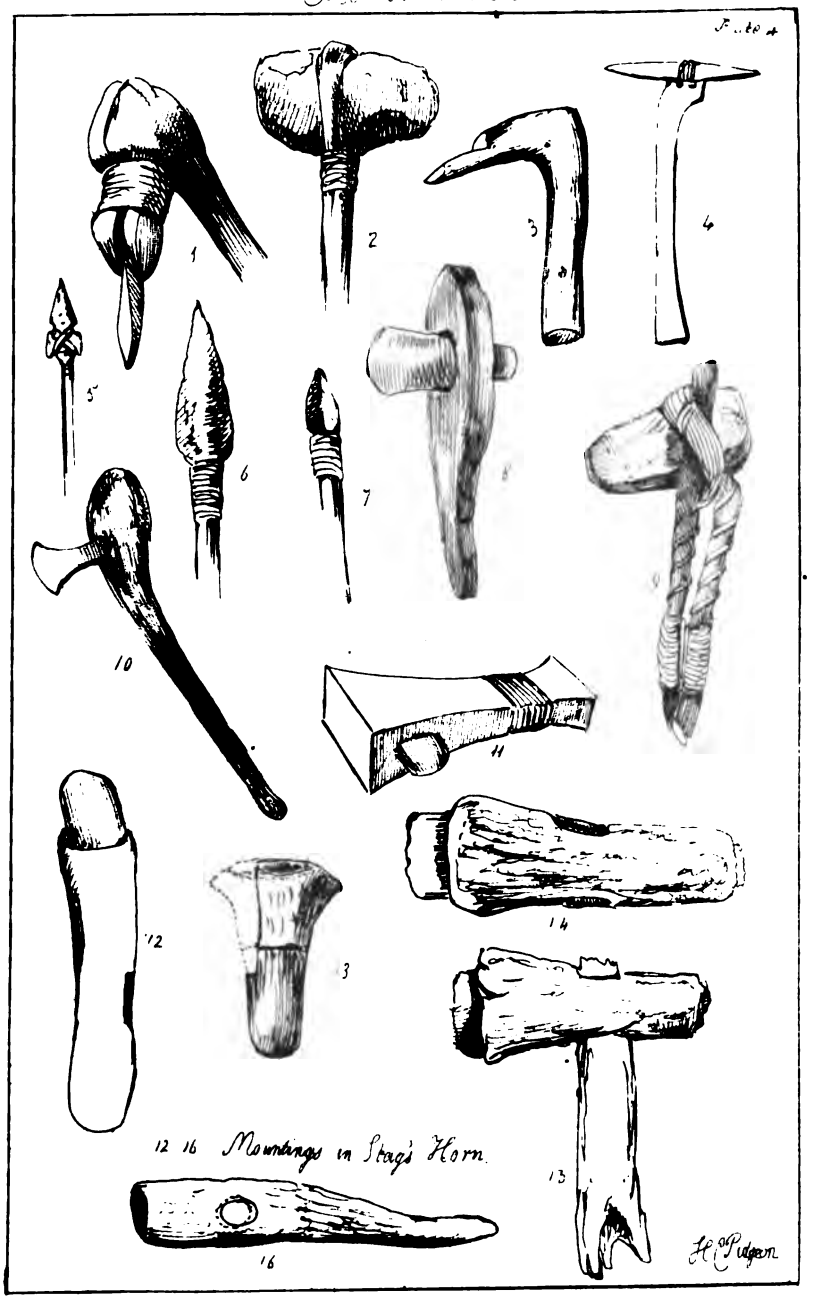
* Wilson, p. 121. Antiquités Celtiques, p. 128. † Antiquités Celtiques, 124.
‡ Ibid, 336. ‖ Ibid, 322.



12 16 Mountings in Stag's Horn.

H. P. Pidgeon

In the Archæological Journal* there is an article by M. Du Noyer on the placing of celts in their hafts or handles; but he seems to suppose that every one admitted of being placed in a handle. His article is occupied mainly with the bronze celt, but he notices the bone and flint ones also.

Many years ago, Dr. Robert Ball, a gentleman well known in Dublin, and Director of the University Museum, was asked by the late Dean Dawson to put handles to celts of the most remarkable forms. He did affix the handles, apparently in a satisfactory manner, but his opinion of his own work was altered by seeing the mounting of two modern ones,—a stone one from a mine in Mexico, and an iron one from Little Fish Bay in Africa. On January 8th, 1844, he gave an account of these to the Royal Irish Academy,† from which I make the following extract:—

"The Mexican stone celt was mounted by placing a slender rod at each side of it, in the direction of its length, so that the larger ends of the rods would have overlapped each other about two inches, had they not been separated by the body of the instrument. A small cord was then loosely wound round the ends of the rod and the included celt: when thus arranged, the smaller ends of the rods were brought together and tied, forming what sailors call a Spanish windlass. The elasticity of the rods keeping a constant strain, makes a more effective handle than it would appear possible to form by ordinary tying, and with much less expense of time and trouble. The iron celt was fixed in the bend of a club like a Scotch golf stick; by this arrangement, while the iron was so fixed that a stroke served to make it only the faster, the effectiveness of the weapon was much increased by the weight of the knob at its end."

Lately M. de Perthes has carried us a step farther, for he has found many of the smaller kinds in their actual mounting, in stag's-horn, and in bone. The illustrations of these, referring to an early period in the history of the arts, come first in his book on this subject.‡

It is to be understood that these remarks refer only to the small number that were mounted; the majority were not so. Of course the large mallets were mounted, each with its wooden handle inserted like a sledge hammer. From the grooves in the top of several other kinds, it is clear that they also were mounted. It is probable that an osier or a pliant branch was passed round and made fast with thongs; in the same manner as the

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* iv. 8. † Proceedings, ii. 511. ‡ Antiquités Celtiques, Chap. xiv. "Instrumens Celtiques en corn de cerf," Chap. xv. "Instrumens en os, d'hommes et d'animaux."

punches and chisels of a blacksmith are at present mounted. The Glasgow celt, though tapering to a point, had been mounted by a band in the middle.*

VII.—Situation.

Before inquiring respecting the objects or uses of these articles, it is important to know the sort of situations, and the general circumstances, in which they have been found.

In general the hatchets that are most beautiful in finish are found near the surface, indicating a greater advancement in civilization, while those of ruder finish are found farther down. Those of the rudest character, and which appear to constitute primitive types, are found at the greatest depth.

An instrument of a curious and perfect shape is usually surrounded by a large number of others greatly inferior in the workmanship; so that when one is found singly, there is often reason to believe that it is like a jewel out of its setting, or a word out of its context.

Occasionally there is a vessel with the bones of animals, along with the stone instruments; and we even find the bones of animals classed. One, for instance, contains the remains of the elephant, the bear, the wolf; and another those of the fox, the sheep, or the boar. Sometimes these are whole, at other times they are surrounded with charcoal ashes, and fragments of bones or of wood. It is curious that the wooden axes, that were made in imitation of the stone ones, are found in connexion with many bones and cinders, yet there is no sign of burning on them. It is clear, therefore, that they have served quite a different purpose.†

The numbers in which they occur, occasionally, are quite astonishing. At Hoxne, in Suffolk, many baskets full were carried away by the workmen as useless;‡ and M. de Perthes mentions a similar case at Portlette, the port of Rouen. The articles were so numerous that they were borne away by baskets full and wheel barrows full; and when the transport of them had endured for hours, the water took possession of the trench, just as he was about to discover a new bank of silex and of potteries, not less rich

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* Wilson, p. 130. † Antiquités Celtiques, 337. ‡ Archæologia, xiii. 204.

than the former.* At Port Ellen in Argyleshire, the number of flint flakes found in a single cist, formed a pile from eighteen inches to two feet high.†

The objects in connexion with which they are found are also curious. At Hoxne, in Suffolk, a good deal of wood was found with them;‡ and a large number, which were turned up at Skirlaugh, in Holderness, in 1809, and described by John Crosse, Esq., were wrapped in a cloth, and enclosed in some decayed wood.‖

The depth at which many of these objects are found is nearly 30 feet, and the various substances that cover them over may be seen in the sections of M. de Perthes—p. 234 and p. 188.

VIII.—Uses.

The question—what is the use to which these objects were appropriated, has met with various answers. The error in each case seems to be that the writer or speaker has restricted them to *one* use or purpose; whereas we know the dexterity with which the savage or semi-civilized man makes one instrument serve the office of several. It is possible that they were used for at least as many purposes as similar instruments are in our own days; apart altogether from the mysterious offices which they may have served, and which are quite unknown to us. The following is a mere indication of those purposes; with such illustrations from modern customs as seem suitable. A full account of them would be much longer than I have leisure for: and I have already extended these remarks beyond the limits originally intended:—

1. *Arrow Heads.*—This use is obvious from the shape. For the mode of mounting, see Worsaae. See also Caffre spears. By the country people in the North of Ireland and South of Scotland, these are called *elf stones*, and cattle when ill are supposed to be elf-shot by one of these stones.

2. *Knives.*—Zipporah, the wife of Moses, used such a knife in the circumcision of her child,§ and the "sharp knives" which Joshua used at

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* Antiquités Celtiques, 110. † Wilson, p. 122. ‡ Archæologia, xiii, 206.
‖ Archæologia, xvii. 320. § Exodus, iv. 25.

Gilgal* were of this kind. The word is translated in the margin "knives of flints;" in the Vulgate, "cultros *lapideos*;" and in the version of B. Arias Montanus, "cultros *petrarum*." "The LXX and the Jews say that such knives were commonly used in this work."† At a period when knives of metal were common in Egypt, the embalmers used these ancient ones for making the incision in the flank by which the bowels were extracted. Knives of this kind were often of a semi-circular shape; and in Scotland the curved edge is the sharp one, while in the North of Europe it is the straight edge which is sharp. They are called "lunar knives" in Norway and Denmark, and Pechs' (i.e. Picts') knives" by the Shetlanders.‡ Chapter xviii. in the book of M. de Perthes treats of "Couteaux Celtiques," and Chapter xix. of "Couteaux Diluviens."

On the 11th of June, 1849, the Rev. Dr. Todd exhibited to the Royal Irish Academy a collection of flint knives and arrow heads from the Island of Sacrificios, on the coast of Mexico; and these are precisely similar to the ones known in our own country.‖

3. *Sling Pellets.*—One of the stones which Mr. Mayer has forwarded for exhibition this evening is evidently a sling pellet. At Portlette, M. de Perthes found them in great numbers, some of which he has minutely described and figured.—No. 31, plate xvi. after p. 346.

In Layard's Illustrations, No. xxix., appear persons in the act of throwing stones; and one who has just discharged a pellet from a sling. It is worthy of remark that the missiles wherever we can see their shapes, approach in appearance the objects known to ourselves.

In the Archæologia§ two sling pellets are described by Walter Hawkins, F.S.A., of a kind precisely analogous to ours. They were found lodged in the Cyclopian walls of Samé, in Cephalonia. One, about three inches in diameter, was found along with a skeleton, in 1809, in the cairn of Glenquicken, Kirkcudbright.¶ A similar pellet of flint, nearly spherical, was described by Lord Londesborough in the Archæological Journal,** but he did not seem to be aware of its

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* Josh. v. 2, 3. † Bp. Patrick. ‡ Wilson, p. 128. ‖ Proceedings, iv. 371.
§ xxxii. 96. ¶ Wilson, 131. ** iv. 103.

probable uses. Another writer of great intelligence, who does not give his name, has found them in the Crannogues or islands, in Tyrone, in Ireland; with indentations on both sides.

4. ***Missiles to hurl with the hands.***—They must have been useful in this way, especially in close attacks, and where the throwing party was on an elevation. The small end is usually most broken; and this is the way in which they would naturally fly. But the question is set at rest by our actually finding them thrown from the hand in the circumstances indicated, in Layard's Illustrations of Nineveh. The following are the details:—

Plate XIII., "The King in his chariot, before a besieged city." On the top of the walls are five archers shooting, a sixth person is in the position of a suppliant, a seventh is a shield-bearer, and a hand (apparently the disengaged one of the shield-bearer) *is hurling a stone.*—Plate XX., "The King before the walls of a besieged city." Here the assailants attempt the walls with scaling ladders, and two of the defenders *throw stones.* One is in the act of dropping a large stone from both hands, while a shield-bearer throws a small one from his right hand. Both are rounded, as if prepared for the purpose.—Plate XXIX., "The siege of a castle." It is attacked by mining, by fire, by scaling ladders, and by military engines. It is defended by archers, by shield-bearers, and by igniting the military engines. Also, one man appears in the act of *hurling a great stone;* and one has just discharged a *stone from a sling.*—Plate LXVIII., "A city taken by assault." The walls are surmounted by battlements of various heights; and they are attacked by archers and spearmen who ascend scaling ladders. Twenty-nine distinct figures are represented as defending; of whom *sixteen throw stones* with one hand, six project spears, and seven use bows.—Plate LXXVIII., "An Assyrian army besieging a city." The attacking party advance, under cover of long wicker shields, which rest on the ground, and are pushed forward. The defenders use bows, spears, and *stones thrown by the hand.*

5. *Sacrificing Axes.*—M. de Perthes attributes to them this use; so does popular tradition; and it is believed that the Druids followed the practices of the early pagan people in using them for this purpose. But it would even follow from Livy that they were used in Rome at the time of Scipio Africanus, for we find the *fetiales* proceeding to Africa to sanction a treaty, and they are told to carry with them the

sacred flints ;—"*ut privos lapides silices secum ferrent.*"—Livy, lib. xxx. cap. 43.*

6. *Ordinary Axes.*—Used in the hand, they remove the charred wood in a burning tree, and thus guide the fire in felling a trunk, or in hollowing it for a canoe.† This is done in felling the mahogany at Honduras; and the Indians of Virginia formerly made their canoes by these stone tomahawks. We find in several instances that when the edge has been broken into gaps, it has been again sharpened by grinding; sharpness being a requisite quality. One of the axes on the table has been so sharpened. In some of the Barrows in Denmark, the whetstones have been found, with the axes and knives partially finished, lying beside them.‡ A similar whetstone was found at North Berwick in Scotland.

7. *Warlike Implements.*—They are used as such in New Zealand at the present hour, and the mountings in some instances are very complicated. In 1809, one was found in a cairn in Kirkcudbrightshire; which, from the marks of the skeleton, had nearly severed the arm from the body.|| A portion of the axe was sticking in the fractured bone.

8. *Wedges.*—The workpeople in France call them wedges (coins); and it is probable that some of them were used for splitting wood. In 1833 an entire wooden house was dug up in a bog in Donegal; and it was described in the Archæologia.§ A model of it exists in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The numerous planks of which its walls and floors were composed, had been split by a stone hatchet of this kind; and three of them were found on the floor of the house, with their tops much broken by the repeated strokes of the mallet.

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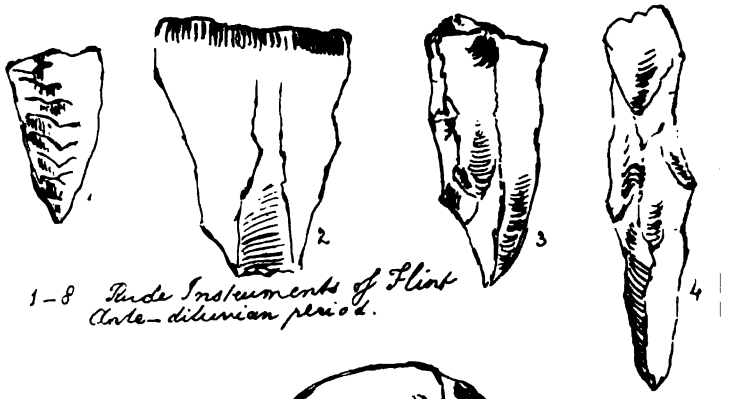
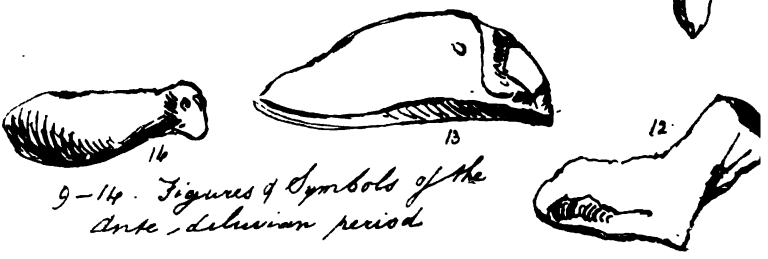
* "Les hatches d' une dimension intermédiaire qu' on rencontrait dans les mêmes gissemens avec leurs gaines et leurs manches, y avaient été déposées après avoir probablement servi aux sacrifices, seul usage auquel elles fussent destinées, car elles n' etaient propres qu' a cela, c'est-à-dire á frapper un être sans défense, une victime liée et garottée au pied de l' antel.....Les cailloux sacrés étaient agus, et servaient á couper la chair des victimes."—Antiquités Celtiques, p. 122.

† Worsaae, 13; Wilson, 131. ‡ Wilson, 134. || Ibid, 131. § xxvi. 361

Plate 5

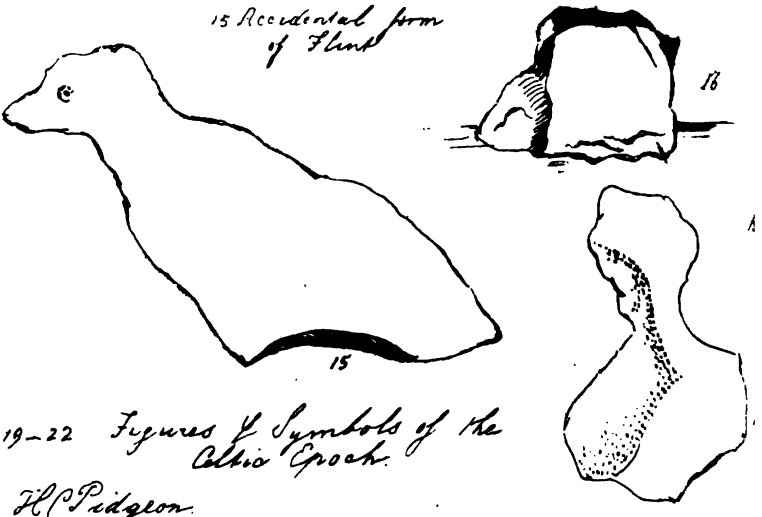


1–8 Rude Instruments of Flint
Ante-diluvian period.



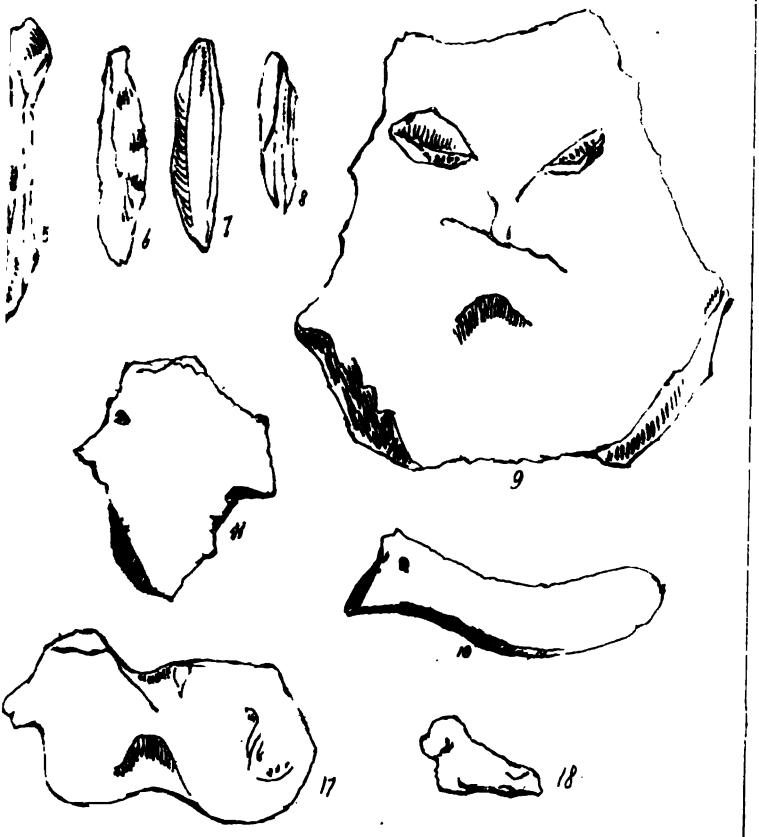
9–14. Figures & Symbols of the
Ante-diluvian period

15 Accidental form
of Flint



19–22 Figures & Symbols of the
Celtic Epoch.

H C Pidgeon



Primitive Types of Druidic Monuments

Chisels of flint are not unusual in Norway and Sweden, and even in Scotland.*

Mr. Thoms also notices† that in the fabrication of an ancient coffin, and similarly in the ancient canoes that are found at so many places in this country, the trees must have been split by instruments of this kind.

9. *Hammers, Beetles, or Sledges.*—This use is obvious. It is alluded to by Mr. Pegge, in detail, in his paper, read at the Society of Antiquaries, November 8th, 1770.

10. *At the destruction of the beasts in hunting.*—Many of the largest are found frequently in connexion with the bones of beasts of chase. But this is not all, the bones of fishes are found along with them, showing that man has been there; and on the bones of the beasts of the field there remain to this hour indentations which denote violence from the hand of man.‡

There are other uses which they may have served, pointed out by M. de Perthes; but these I shall only mention, without attempting to give either his copious illustrations or his convincing arguments.

11. They may have been used as *Money* or a medium of exchange.
12. As *Symbols*, or a species of *language*.
13. As instruments of *Superstition*.
14. As *Contributions* at a burial place.

IX.—Age.

In attempting to assign an age to these objects, the difficulties are insurmountable. The earliest period to which the records of this country extend is 1900 years, and if we add the traditional period, we shall still rise but a little above 2000 years. Yet man has been on the face of the earth nearly 6000 years; and during much of that time he was not confined to the plains and rivers of Asia, even before our history and tradition commence. It is clear, therefore, that many generations of men, of whom we know little or nothing, lived and died on the same spot which we

* Wilson, 132. † Worsaae, xiii. ‡ Antiquités Celtiques, 60, 61.

now inhabit; and that articles like these are almost the only records of themselves which they have left to us. The period of cromlechs and rocking stones, of those structures which are pre-eminently called *druidical*, is but as yesterday, when compared with many of these objects.* There is a language and a meaning in them which some one may yet be enabled to decipher; and we may class the recovery of their real history with the key to the hieroglyphics, the cuneiform characters of Behistun, and the up-turning of the relics of Nineveh. M. de Perthes would refer back some of the articles to the antediluvian period; and it is within the limits of probability that he may be right. In other words, what the geologist calls the *last leaf* of his great stone book, containing the record of man, this French philosopher imagines is a thin volume in itself, the leaves of which, when separated with care and patience, enable us to read many facts in the biography of our savage predecessors. Without either admitting or opposing his theory, I have endeavoured to lay before you a series of facts, interesting beyond a doubt, and in my opinion of considerable importance.

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* M. de Perthes arranges the eras as follows:—

1. Modern Times.
2. The Middle Ages.
3. The Roman Period.
4. The Gallo-Roman.
5. The Gallo-Celtic.
6. The Celtic.
7. The Period anterior to the Celtic.
8. The Diluvian Period.

He refers to the last three of these eras, all the articles that are described in this paper. *Antiq. Celtiq.* 31, 32.

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. FEBRUARY 6th, 1851. **No. 4.**

The Fourth ordinary Meeting of the Session, was held at the Collegiate Institution,

DAVID LAMB, Esq., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—

John James Osborne, Mayor of Macclesfield.
William Gray, Wheatfield, Bolton, Mayor of Bolton.
Richard Darlington, Mayor of Wigan.

The following were also elected Honorary Members:—

J. Yonge Akerman, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, London.
W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.
Sir William Betham, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., of the Royal Irish Academy.
C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., of the Archæological Association.
Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., V. P. of the Archæological Institute.
Philip P. Duncan, M.A., Ashmolean Society, Oxford.
Rev. Professor Willis, F.R.S., Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Rev. J. Williams, M.A., Cambrian Archæological Association.
W. H. Blauuw, Esq., Sussex Archæological Society.
Dawson Turner, F.R.S., Norfolk and Norwich Antiquarian Society.
Edward Charlton, M.D., Newcastle Antiquarian Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced:—

From Edward Higgin, Esq., An Essay on the construction of Locks and Keys, by John Chubb, Assoc. Inst., C.E., 1851.

From the Society,	Journal of the Chester Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society. Part I. to July, 1850.
From John Mather, Esq.	Gore's Liverpool Directory, for the years 1766, 77, 1805, 1807, 10, 13, 16, 21, (two copies), 23, 25, 27, 28 (a supplementary tract), 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49.
	Picken's Directory for 1827.
	Mercator's Remarks and Reflections on the intended Liverpool Dock Bill, 1811.
	Authentic Copies of the several Acts of Parliament relating to the Docks, Port and Harbour of Liverpool, 1804.
	The Charter granted to the Burgesses of Liverpool, by William III., with Notes, &c.; also the Charter of George II., with Notes, 1810.
	An Act for making the River Weaver Navigable, from Frodsham Bridge to Winsford Bridge, 1720.
From J. C. Colton, Esq.	Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, 2 vols. 8vo. 1849. Putnam, New York.
From Hugh Neill, Esq.	A portion of the Submarine Telegraph, in its casing, dredged up in the Straits of Dover.
	Copy of a Note for £5 issued by the Corporation of Liverpool, in July, 1793.

The following Article was exhibited :—

By the Rev. W. B. Stewart Matthias, B.A.	An Illuminated MS. for the use of the Church in France before the Reformation.

An extract having been read from a letter, addressed to Mr. Pidgeon by John Harland, Esq., in which he notices a wish of the Lord Bishop of Manchester, that the Society should hold a meeting occasionally in that town,—the Secretary was directed to communicate with Mr. Harland or the Bishop requesting a more explicit expression of their wishes.

The following Papers were then read :—

I.—On the Seal of Liverpool,

By John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.

The Seal of the Borough of Liverpool has been so frequently submitted to antiquarian discussion, that it may now be thought superfluous to canvass

it any further, and presumptuous (especially in a stranger) to attempt to offer anything hitherto unsaid. Yet the papers contained in the first volume of the Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire show that the subject is still regarded with some interest, and I beg to intrude upon your attention with a few remarks, because, after all, we have only just arrived at the clue to its true explanation, by means of the comparison which has been instituted by your Honorary Secretary, Mr. Pidgeon, with impressions of the original matrix.

Mr. Pidgeon's reading of the marginal inscription is no doubt the correct one,

"Sigillum burgensium de Leverpol,"

and I have only one trifling remark to make upon it, which is this—I see no reason to conclude that the word Burgensium was mis-spelt Borgensium in the original seal, though it was blundered in the copy; but this will be ascertained from the impression presented to the Society by Dr. Kendrick, if it is sufficiently perfect.

But the principal result of Mr. Pidgeon's examination is the attainment of the correct reading of the second inscription, which is placed upon the scroll below the bird. This inscription had always baffled every previous inquirer; but it now proves to be the word Johannis, in a reversed position, and it is to this reading that I now beg permission to supply corroborative proof by explaining its import, its connexion with the device, and its peculiar application to the town of Liverpool.

Allow me, then, first to state that the inscribed scroll is placed there with reference to the device, or rather it forms part of it; and next, at the risk of offending some ancient prejudices, I must be permitted to declare, with equal confidence, that that bird is not what it was called by Randle Holme, "a lever or shoveller duck," with a branch of sea-weed in his bill; neither is it, as some have supposed, the dove of Noah with an olive branch; nor is it the eagle of Jove, as somebody suggested to Mr. Matthew Gregson; but it is—an eagle, the eagle of Saint John the Evangelist, and the object carried in his mouth is, or was meant to be, the inkhorn wherewith the bird is usually depicted as attending on the prophet in the isle of Patmos.

Such is the solution of this long-debated enigma; to which Mr. Pidgeon's deciphering of the true reading Joh'is has effectually conducted. The

whole difficulty has arisen from the inferior workmanship of the first engraver, who made a bad copy of the symbol of the Evangelist, and failed to reverse the scroll; but the second engraver was a still worse artist than his predecessor, and evidently as ignorant of what he was copying as a Chinese might have been.

The eagle of Saint John will be familiar to many members of your Society in a variety of situations. Those who are conversant with sepulchral brasses and incised gravestones will remember how often the symbols of the four evangelists occur at their corners, and they are as often as not accompanied by scrolls containing the names of each evangelist respectively. I forward you a representation of a brass medal or ticket which bears the Eagle, cleverly engraved, and which may have been the badge of some large monastic community, under the patronage of Saint John. The original is now in my possession.

The reason of the symbol of Saint John being adopted as the device of the Burgesses of Liverpool I imagine will be found in the fact, that the original guild of their corporation was placed under the tutelary patronage of that Saint. I am aware that the Parish Church is dedicated to Saint Nicholas the patron of fishermen; but there was a chantry in it dedicated to Saint John, and those who can trace the early history of that chantry, which I have not the means of doing, will probably find that it was supported by the town guild.

I am not informed where we are to turn for Randle Holme's description of the device of the Seal, which has been followed as the authority for the supposed armorial coat of the town, the "lever or shoveller duck." This, perhaps, Mr. Pidgeon will supply, in order to limit the period during which the Eagle of Saint John has suffered this misinterpretation.

But I cannot close these few remarks without adverting to the fact, that the imaginary bird, whose origin we have now traced, has in comparatively recent days achieved no little historical importance. It has been adopted by modern heralds in two remarkable instances which are now figured in the English peerage. The "lever" was granted as an honorary augmentation to the armorial coat of Lord Hawkesbury, created Earl of Liverpool, a prime minister who kept the helm for a longer period than any of his predecessors since the days of Burghley; and it was also adopted as one of

Engraved Token of Copper.

Gent Mag XCVIII. July 1847.

the supporters of the Viscountess Canning, the widow of another prime minister of Great Britain, an illustrious statesman who was at the same time a minister of the Crown, and one of the representatives of this great emporium of commerce in the lower house of Parliament.

Thus exalted to a dignified position in the fields of heraldic blazon, this deformed offspring of an indifferent seal-engraver, baptised by Randle Holme, and adopted by the more recent representatives of his craft, now takes its rank among those other monsters of heraldry, the dragon, the wyvern, and the cockatrice, the double-queued lion, the two-headed eagle, and the legless martlets.

II.—Additional Notes on the Tenth Iter of Richard of Cirencester,

By T. Langton Birley, Esq.

Vith reference to Mr. Pidgeon's enquiries relative to the Roman Road he Fylde, Mr. Loxham, of Dowbridge, near Kirkham, states :—

he way can be traced further west than the farm-house alluded to in Pidgeon's letter, situate south-east of Poulton, and is supposed to have ainated at a place called Stana, on the River Wyre, about seven miles 1 the mouth. Some traces are said to have been found there by the . William Thornber, late incumbent of Blackpool, and now residing e.

rom thence, proceeding eastward, there are distinct marks at the farm led to, called "Puddle House;" thence again over Weeton Moss, h the inhabitants call "Danes' Pad;" and they have used the gravel nending the highways. Among this gravel sundry things like horse s have been found, and pieces of wicker work which crumbled to dust xposure to the air. Both of these classes of articles Mr. Loxham has

rom thence the road is supposed to proceed to Westby Mill, but no s have been discovered there. Between Westby and Kirkham some rent traces of the road have been found. The road appears to have gone direct line from Westby Mill through Kirkham to Clifton Mill, straight

through the town of Kirkham, and over the Mill Hill on the east side of the town, from thence over Dowbridge Hill, to near Clifton Mill.

At the foot of the Kirkham Mill Hill, and near the brook, John Willacy, an old schoolmaster, of Kirkham, found some coins, and the boss of a shield. The coins Mr. Loxham has seen, and he believes that they are deposited in the British Museum. These were found about thirty or forty years ago in a slip of earth near the brook side. On the same hill James Rogerson, of Kirkham, when draining, found appearances of an encampment or station.

In straightening a brook near Dowbridge, Mr. Loxham passed through the gravel bed forming the road. The material of the surrounding ground was bog, and the gravel bed passed through it, very near the surface of the land; it was so hard as scarcely to be got through with a pickaxe. Spades would not penetrate it. Mr. Loxham found an ivory needle at the depth of about six feet, five inches long, and similar to a flattened quill. In an adjoining field, where bricks are being made, as many as ten or twelve urns have been found together, with evident traces of the same road, within the last two or three years. The urns were filled with ashes and calcined bones, with apparently steel ornaments, something like beads. They broke to pieces with the falling of the clay, and none could be preserved in anything like a complete state. The traces of the road can now be seen in many places at the side of brooks and ditches about Dowbridge, likewise towards Clifton Mill, and also beyond. From Clifton Mill it appears to bend northward, leaving Deepdale Wood a little south. Traces are now visible at a farm called "Ward's House," in Salwick, and many traces are perceptible between Kirkham and Ward's House. Tradition says it went from thence by Cadley Moor to Ribchester, and ended at York, but my informant knows nothing from personal examination of the way beyond Ward's House.

In ploughing many of the fields in Newton and Clifton, the road is perceptible, being hard and stony.

It is supposed that a branch line went southward from Kirkham to Freckleton, a port on the Ribble; but though frequent attempts have been made to discover traces of it in this direction, nothing satisfactory has been found. In excavating for the new Workhouse at Kirkham, traces were found indicative of a road, which were noticed by Mr. Thompson, clerk to the Board of Guardians.

Mr. Thornber, before alluded to, has taken great pains to investigate the antiquities of this district, both on the River Wyre, and also between the Wyre and Ribble; and Mr. Loxham thinks some valuable information on this subject could be obtained from him. Mr. Thornber got from Mr. Loxham the heads of two oxen, taken out of the cutting in the brook at Dowbridge, before mentioned, in good preservation; also something like a battle-axe. The heads were seven or eight feet deep, imbedded in the bog, close to the gravel bed.

In the Ordnance Survey Map, the line in this neighbourhood is distinctly marked out, from Dowbridge eastward, with double lines where traces were found, connected by single dotted lines, where no certain indications are visible.

III.—Remarks on the Evidences of Roman Occupation in the Fylde District,

By the Rev. W. Thornber, B.A., Trin. Coll. Ox., of Blackpool.

When I first commenced tracing the Roman Road through the Fylde I was regarded as a mere enthusiast, nor, although in 1832 I had published my researches in the History of Blackpool and the Traditions of the Foreland of the Fylde, was it believed that such a road did really exist, until I succeeded in convincing the officers of the Ordnance Survey, as well as Mr. Just, that there was a well-defined agger, not to the Neb of the Naze, but to the Wyre, thus upsetting the hypothesis of Mr. Whitaker, of Manchester, that we must look for the Portus Sistantiorum at Freckleton, and no where else.

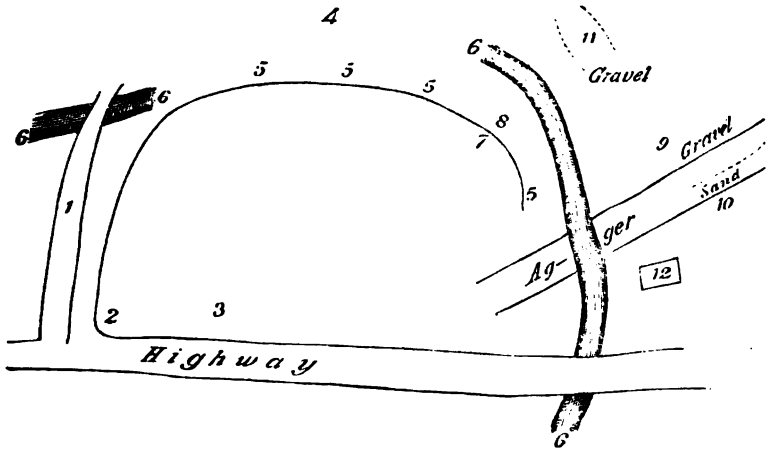
Dugdale, in 1664, speaking of the remains of a causeway running from Preston towards the west, makes mention of its "largeness and bulk." Dr. Kuerdon also informs us that the same road on Cadley Moor was of greater breadth than the one that stretched north towards Lancaster. These antiquarians, at least the former of them, say nothing of its terminus: this was left to Mr. Whitaker, who, having a theory to support, guessed that it abutted somewhere, and then made for the Neb of the Naze. Dr.

Whitaker then followed, and I remember, when a boy, how it was pressed upon him by Mr. Wilson, of Poulton, that tradition had handed it down that an agger ran from Ribchester to the Wyre, which in the Roman era was the great port of Lancashire. "There may be such a road," he replied, "but it was a very late work, and, think you, the Romans would overlook the Ribble and the Lune for a river so insignificant as the Wyre?" See History of Richmondshire, St. Michael's. The causeway without a doubt runs to Kirkham, and if it branched off from thence to Freckleton I would at once affirm that the protecting station of the Portus was at the former; but there are no traces of such a road, nor the shadow of one, for I have travelled over the intervening space again and again. I have asked for information of old natives. I have heard Mr. Tongue, a clergyman in the vicinity, declare that he has searched for remains for years. I took Mr. Just to have his opinion; and lastly Mr. Wright, to satisfy the Preston people, was especially sent down again by the Ordnance Survey to inspect the supposed site, and make all inquiries, and the result was—there never was a Roman agger that had its terminus at the Neb of the Naze. In an early publication I quoted, Mr. Whitaker so propagated the same mistake. The question is now at rest.

Richard of Cirencester, however, was no dreamer, when he included in his 7th Iter a road from Ribchester to a Portus. This I would now trace, taking my station at Kirkham, the *metropolis of the Sistantii. The site of this town was one which a Roman general would choose. A good look out was indispensable, to gain which at all points their roads were generally straight, or if the country was flat and boggy, as the Fylde was, they stretched from hill to hill. Here an object so desirable was gained to perfection, for eminences at intervals run all the way nearly from Preston to the Wyre, each having a view of the other. The town of Kirkham stands on four, what Fylde folk call, high hills; the first on the east being Dowbridge Hill; the next, the largest and the highest, being that on which was the encampment called Mill Hill; and on the last stands the Workhouse. These run almost due east and west. Look at Mill Hill—on the north a steep bank

* Kirkham is called the metropolis of the Fylde still, and in an undated deed circa 1200, a landowner of that town attests it by the name of Amaricus de la Campton—i. e. of the town of the Field.

washed by the Dow; on the south a gentle declivity, where in winter the garrison of about 500 men could enjoy the warmth of the sun, and the area, occupied by the camp, fortified naturally on the west, east, and north by the Dow, a steep bank and a swampy broad morass; and if I might add to these advantages that there was an Observatory, neighbouring, as it is said, on a high hill to the north-east—Mowbrick—I would ask what more suitable spot could there have been for a station of protection?



1. Deep narrow lane.
2. The mill.
3. The ruins of the fort.
4. The morass.
5. The east the steep bank of the station.
6. The Dow.
7. The spot where pavement of tiles found.
8. The spring where the umbo was found.
9. The square mound.
10. Urns found, &c.
11. The remains of an agger.
12. Loxham's house.

The site of the encampment having been levelled for agricultural purposes, no mounds, &c., are distinguishable; but I never put a spade down in any part of the area that it did not disclose burnt earth, charred wood, pottery, bricks, and bones. The river, you perceive, flows on the east and north, and has made a precipice especially on the side of the former. At No. 8, near New England spring, was found the umbo of a shield. I will not describe it, as any one may see a representation of it in Whitaker's Richmondshire, although he tells us by mistake that it was found at Garstang.

He calls it a votive shield, and I cannot but think that it was dedicated to Minerva, who, under the name of Regina or Minerva Belisama, the queen of heaven, had a temple dedicated to her at Ribchester, at the head of Belisama, of which she was the presiding deity. But this is wandering; yet if you ask, was there ever an altar found dedicated to Minerva Belisama, I answer, read Bochart Geog. sac. 663. However this may be, this shield was found by Mr. Willacy in 1800, squeezed up, near the spring. He intrusted it to a Scotchman, who sold it for £1 10s. to Dr. Hunter, and it was ultimately deposited by Mr. Townly in the British Museum. This Mr. Willacy told me himself. The same person also described to me the ruins of a square fortress, No. 3, the foundations of which he said were of massy chiselled red sandstone: they were pronounced Roman by judges, but the country people accounted for them by relating a tradition that in old times the Saxon church of Kirkham stood there. At No. 7 also there must have been some erection, for here I saw dug up a pavement of thick rude red brick tiles, and, twice over with the officers of the Ordnance Survey, threw out a surprising quantity of broken tiles, pateræ, burnt bones, &c. Here, too, the drainage of the encampment had its outlet into the Dow, where Mr. Loxham picked up the bone needle, and Mr. Willacy two coins of Adrian. You will perceive where the agger enters the encampment stretching to the top of the hill behind Mr. Loxham's house, and this appears to have been the burial-place of the station. At No. 9 some years ago I inspected a square area which was surrounded with a trench one yard deep, similar to that formerly on the Maudlands at Preston. It rose into a mound with four sides. At No. 10, in 1840, Mr. Loxham discovered an urn filled with portions of large sized bones, a piece of a skull, and an amulet or something of the kind, which I cannot describe better than likening it to a string of pipe stoppers. It was of iron, but much corroded and injured with the action of fire. We could see, however, that it was perforated with three-cornered holes, by which its links had been attached by a thong. The corpse had been burnt on the spot, for much charcoal and ashes lay around. Not far from this spot the same gentleman in preparing for brick in 1849 discovered seven more urns, all well made, but plain, without ornament, and not one entire; also a small lachrymatory. Here, too, on this hill was found an iron securis. I wonder whether it were the instrument used in

Plate IX

sacrificing the Seghs, whose heads were discovered in the peaty matter near the Dow. But of all the relics found here the most singular and curious is a druid's egg or amulet in excellent preservation. I give you the exact size of it. It is a ring of light green glass, roped by a cord of blue, which cord is wrapped thus by a thread of white.

From its having been much worn in the centre rim it must have been suspended from the neck by a chain. Did the legionaries adopt the superstition of their conquered foe, or shall I say that it belonged to a Briton? I cannot but think, from the number of celts, &c., found between Kirkham and the Wyre, especially in the mosses, that the Fylde had many inhabitants before, or at least an early period of, the Roman invasion.

But we are on the spot, where Mr. Loxham exposed for me a beautiful section of the agger, so we will commence our search eastward to Preston. I was astonished not to find one road, but two running side by side, perfectly distinct; the one on the left, being three yards wide, consisted of a pretty deep layer of shingle; the other ten yards of the coarse red sand of the neighbourhood: the first hard enough for horses, in which shoes are found; and the latter for foot soldiers. Care had been taken to render both lines perfectly dry by cutting trenches between, and on each side of them. The gravel one was lower, as if worn. Was one of these of British formation? It may be so, for the Romans appear to have found many roads of British construction, which they remodelled and repaired in such a manner as to leave few traces of their first projectors. Where forests and morasses abounded, as in the Fylde, even the rude Britons saw the necessity of constructing pathways to connect their towns, and that Kirkham may have been one might be proved from so many of the places, &c., in its neighbourhood having names of British origin. But there is reason to suppose that they had accomplished more than this, and the conjecture is supported by the commentator of Richard of Cirencester, when he remarks—"That in many places are vestiges of a continued road skirting the western side of the island in the same manner as Ermyn-street did the eastern, of which parts were never adopted by the Romans, because it connects many of the British towns. It appears to have commenced on the coast of Devon, and to have gone by Exeter, Taunton, &c., to Warrington, Preston, Lancaster, &c."

But I must march forward. From the top of Loxham's hill even yet there is no difficulty in tracing the agger to Preston. To High*gate*—mark the word *gate*, and there are others in this vicinity—we meet with it in the ditches, and in some of the fields, but near Highgate it is very observable, as it crosses an occupation lane; then in Gregson's garden; next in Newton, near which place an old gentleman, Mr. Hornby, told me he cut through it when sinking a marl pit. From Newton it stretches to Lund Hill, and going through the garden on the summit it makes an angle, and runs down the hill over the brook Savig through Deepdale wood, and at Lea we have the most perfect section on the line. Even its very surface a few years ago was untouched. I need follow it no further. On Cadley Moor, by-the-bye, we have many caths, cats, and cads in the neighbourhood of the agger—Cat-houses, Cat-ford, Catteral-hall,—all signifying strong hold, hence war. I inspected it with Mr. Gilbertson, the great fossilist. A little more than half a mile from Preston it crosses the Lancaster causeway, and thence over Longridge Fell, where it is called the Green-lane: it arrives at Ribchester, from the north side of which it continues its course to York; thus connecting Wyre, as I shall show, with Coccium, the emporium of the Port of Lanc, and Kirkham the metropolis of the western Sistantii with Eboracum, that of the Brigantes; and by it (the agger) Severus may have marched to subdue Caledonia, taking shipping at the Portus to Conishead Priory, and travelling forward to the Duddon by the Causeway which commences in Furness.

On this line of road from Kirkham to Preston I have been told that there are some tumuli near Salwick, but I never saw them. In the month of July, 1820, however, a copper coin of Vespasian was dug up near to Woodplumpton. I have a dagger with a brass handle and steel blade which was found amongst some skulls, bones, and pieces of iron not far from the junction of the Wyre and Lancaster Causeway. I have been told it was British, but I cannot fancy it to have belonged to any other than a canny Scotchman who opposed Cromwell. It is much corroded.

We will now return to Kirkham, and take a western direction. I had many a weary travel to find traces of the agger near the town. It is astonishing what pavements are discovered branching towards the north-west, some of them sunk very deep in the ground. My investigations were successful. Not only can I give some corroboration to the tradition, that

there was a vicinal road to Elswick,* where there is a spot called the Danes' Hills, in fact tumuli, but it is now ascertained that the Causeway ran from the Roman station at Kirkham, nearly down the present street, crossing rather nearer the church, a stream at that time, now a deep channel called the Skipbourne, to the site on which stands the present Poorhouse, where you know it was discovered. Before I was aware of its being here, the name of Wrangway-bridge, which is thrown over the Dow in its vicinity, had led me to expect to find the agger near it. A little farther a section of it is to be seen in the stunted oak field, the property of a Mrs. Moon : the tree grows upon it. I cannot tell how we missed the spot when I pointed out the line of road to Mr. Just and the officers of the Survey. From this field stretching up Ribby Brow, anciently written Rigeby, the town on the ridge, I discovered it from the circumstance of a farmer carting away a coarse red sand opposite Tarn-brick-farm-yard gate. On inquiry I found that he had been in the habit of taking away its materials for years, as it formed a *ridge* on one side, the left, of the highway. We are not now far from Westby Mill Hill. Here Mr. Just fancied that he distinguished traces of it, but Mr. Hall, sent afterwards with me over the line for the last time, would not attest them, though an old man, named Segar, declared that he had ploughed through it many times and oft. But here commences the gravel with which the road is made to the Wyre, and as the nature of the ground is gravelly, and the signs of an agger doubtful, I agree with Mr. Hall; yet that it abutted at this high hill there can be no doubt. If we meet with the road before we arrive at Thomas Jolly's, Weeton—the Wadeton of Doomsday; and, by-the-bye, is there not some Saxon lord, Wada, whom tradition describes as a great tyrant, Macadam?—it is in a cop in the hollow before you rise the hill to his house, but I insist not on it, because we here, crossing the highway to Mythorp and a valley, have a sight of the highest ridge on the whole line, indeed so large and bulky as well worthy of the skill of a railway contractor; there it is, though diminishing yearly to supply gravel for the township highways to the neglect of the open pits out of which it was constructed. It is called the Danes'-pad, and its hardness

* Since I wrote the above I have visited this place, where I was told by a native upwards of 70 years of age, and by-the-bye 7 ft. and 5½ in. high—that deep beneath the ground he had dug up a pavement of boulders tending to Kirkham, in the midst of the village. Also, that he had found half a dozen balls of lead buried in the earth. I inspected the plot of land called Danes' Hills; but cultivation had levelled it. Tradition calls Elswick a *city* destroyed with *balls* by the sea pirates.

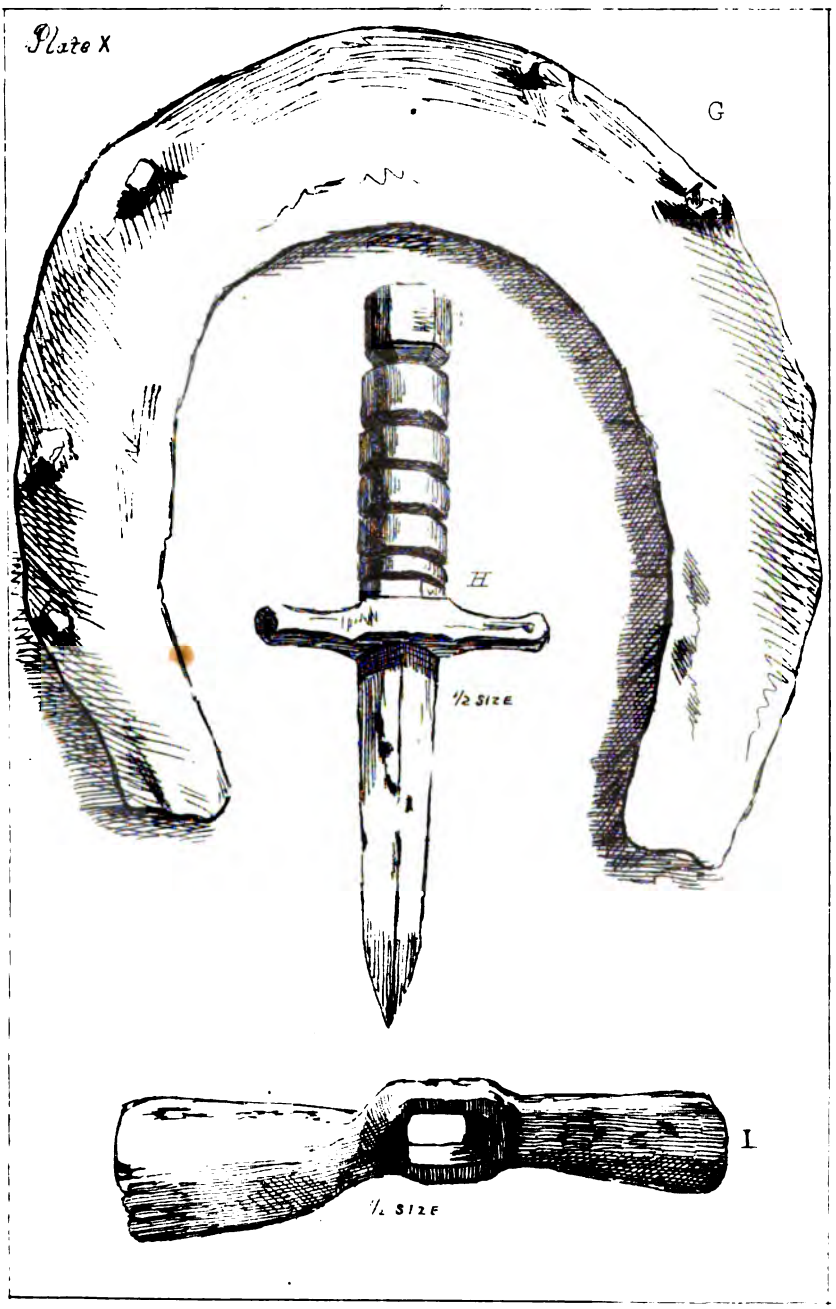
has given rise to the proverb, as hard as the Danes'-pad. These pirates, no doubt from Wyre, made their inroads along its path, and their cruelty and sojourn is so well remembered by tradition in the Fylde, that every remain of antiquity is pronounced Danish. Even the celts found in those oases or hills in the midst of Marton and Pilling mosses, &c., and the curious roads to these British hiding-places, are said to have been the work of the Danes. I have before me an amulet which was dug out from the base of this agger, so near that it might have been dropped into the water by some marching soldier. It is made of earth, oval, ribbed, and painted blue, and is exactly like one marked in Camden.

I have also a heavy brass celt without a loop, found about twenty yards from the same place, as well as two small thin iron shoes without a slut. You must not suppose these to have belonged to the horses of the Roman cavalry; no, they must have been worn, either by the native Galloways, which Dion Cassius calls little ones, as they conveyed merchandise from the Wyre, or when they carried in "crate panniers" on their back the materials to construct the road. I must prefer the latter opinion, although tradition asserts that the gravel was conveyed in the aprons of the harassed natives, because the shoes are found imbedded, as if sucked off during the labour; and the crate panniers, one foot and a half deep, which are constantly dug out of the road, have, all that I have seen or heard of, wooden oak doors at the bottom, as if to unload. Many a shoe, together with a broken sword, has been lost in the omnium gatherum of the village smithy.

Before I leave this village of Weeton, I must take you to a cairn not far from Weeton Lane Head, in a field called Moor Hey, on the side of the highway leading to Preston. I relate the strange tale of its discovery. The farmer was ploughing on the spot, when the horses took fright and fled from the field—would the fatty ground smell?—and the man in dismay ran after, being pursued by the demon of the Fylde—something in the shape of a calf. For years the cairn was untouched, but boulders being wanted for paving it was attacked, when lo, many urns were found, black earth, &c. This I have heard told by one, who saw the urns.* To what

* The rudeness of the urns, and the distance of the cairn from the agger, prove them not Roman, and until the Danes were Christianized they were merely maurauders through the Fylde. After they became Christians they ceased to burn their dead. They were then British.

Plate X



race they belonged I know not: however, a few years ago, I came into possession of a rude, thick, half-baked urn, marked perpendicularly with dots; it had been just discovered in a gravel pit in the neighbourhood of the cairn. If Roman, the makers were rude potters and engravers.

After passing over the next hill from Weeton, we behold the agger crossing another valley, through which a "main dyke" has been cut, bisecting the road. We are now near Benson's farm, Staining, in the parish of Poulton, and not far from its Mere, generally known by the name of Marton Mere, where on the cutting of the above-mentioned dyke, the waters left bare a brass celt, two skin boats, and a skin cap without a seam. These the Rev. Mr. Buck inspected in Poulton. Many shoes and pieces of iron have been taken yearly out of the causeway here, as its materials, land gravel, are carted away for the repair of the highways. I have measured it, and found its breadth at the crown about twelve yards and its base twenty, whereas on the sound land it is not more than eight or ten yards. There are no signs of ruts—and I doubt whether any wheel carriage was used thereon—whilst I can prove that sledges were; for as we walk up to the farm-house and look at the oak-posts at the first gate, we may see the two sides of a sledge which were dug out of the agger. They are of rude oak, much weather-beaten, and have been joined together by cross pieces at the top and bottom, where they were mortised to them. Here also was found another amulet, which I have: it is small, oblong, and of foreign white soft marble. In the same township we meet with the road again, beneath the village of Hardhorn, near Paddle House. It is plain enough, though the gravel has been removed, and it is making direct for Poulton, which is not far off. Here ends every trace which I dare vouch for; yet it is said that the causeway gained the top of Poulton-hill, by the Church Sunday School. I affirm it not: neither do I say that there are some marks of a square fosse around the Church-yard. Certainly there was a peculiar ditch and a high bank that surrounded it, with the exception of a portion on the south near and at the great church gates. This I do know, that I saw two copper coins of Adrian in the possession of Mr. H. Wilson which had been found near the church, and I am assured that Mr. Crossfield, of Kirkham, has a pretty large medal of Germanicus, which was taken by Miss Threlfalls from a garden behind the market-place. Mr. Just fancied that Poulton might have been the Portus, and the pool of the

Wyre and the Skippon, half a mile distant, the rode or statio navium. I rather fancy that the agger ran past Poulton on to the Town-fields near Little Poulton Hall, having only a branch to Poulton Hill. On the high ground of the Town-fields there is a track of an ancient road which evidently was gravelled over the low lands, and this road leads by a curious cut through the banks of the Wyre to the Shard, or as anciently written Aldwath, or the old ford, so denominated before 1300.

The agger could not go to the mouth of the Wyre over Thornton Marsh for obvious reasons. But the Bergerode of Wyre, so called in old maps, was between the hill of Bourne Hall and that of Stana, and in my opinion was approached from Skippool. It is singular I have paid little or no attention to Stana, although it has been in my mother's family for a century, and I fancy something has been said of ruins there—and an agger *could* approach *it* from Poulton. At Bourne, which is marked in the Doomsday survey by mistake of Baines, as Bryning near Lytham—there are certain rough grounds named Danes' Pad by the country people. Rawcliffe, anciently in Doomsday written *Rode*cliffe, and the commencement of *Kates'* Pad, lie across the water nearly opposite, and *Wardless, where till Fleetwood was founded, was the rode of shipping for time immemorial; and these places might have been gained from an agger to Stana by the old ford of Bulk across the Wyre. Of Fleetwood I must say little; but that in 1840, between Rossal Point and Fenny, some brickmakers discovered a treasure of 400 silver denarii, consisting of the coins of Trajan, Adrian, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Antoninus, Severus, Caracalla, Sabina, Faustina, &c. I possess 40 of them, and myself and brother here saw destroyed, for the sake of its materials, a large paved platform, which I had often fancied had been used for a landing-place. At this spot I have heard old people speak of the ruins of a rude, thick-walled, circular building, round which it was uncanny to sport.

I have not time to travel over the water, which, if time had allowed, ought to have been done. Of Kate's Pad you will read an account of mine read by the Rev. Mr. Banister, of Pilling, at Lancaster, to the Archæological Society. Roman and British remains have been found over Wyre; but of Kate's Pad, as the moss is dug off, more may and will be disclosed.

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* Does *Wardless* speak of one of the Burgi being erected on its hill?

Mr. Bannister possesses an unique celt, found near a heap of deer horns, &c., on a hill in the midst of the moss. I assure you I feel it a payment for my labours in tracing the Fylde Roman agger, by knowing that the Wyre is now acknowledged to have been the great port of Lanc.; and that *anything* in our remote section of the island has attracted the attention of your Society.

P.S.—The round cairn of fire-burnt broken stones, in the very vicinity of the *urn cairn* at Weeton Lane Head, which was shown to Mr. Just and myself, and afterwards cut through by Capt. Tucker, is a Beltain or Teenla cairn. There are many on the line of the road. I can count no less than eight in Staining. The Teenla is yet celebrated here, though the fey stone is not used. There was a Teenla cairn on Westby Hill. Some have ventured to assert that the squares on Dowbridge Hill and the Maudlands were used for the same purpose.

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. MARCH 6th, 1851. **No. 5.**

The Fifth ordinary Meeting of the Session was held in the Collegiate Institution,

JAMES KENDRICK, Esq., M.D., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—

Rowland Eyles Egerton Warburton, Esq., of Arley Hall, Cheshire.
Richard Brooke, jun., Esq., of Norton Priory, Runcorn.

The following Presents to the Society were announced:—

From the Society,	Archæologia Scotica, or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vols. i., ii., iii., iv.
From the Society,	The Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society, vol. iii.
From the Society,	Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, for the year 1849.
From the Society,	Original Papers published under the direction of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, for 1850, being parts 1 and 2 of vol. iii.
From the Society,	Transactions of the Dublin University Philosophical Society, vols. i., ii., iii., iv.
From the Society,	Archæologia Æliana, or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, vol. i. part 2; vols. ii. and iii.; and vol. iv. part 1.
	The Pipe Rolls for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham.

	Catalogue of the Library of the Society.
	Report of Proceedings for 1824.
	„ „ 1848.
	An Account of the Proceedings at the Banquet held in the Castle, August 3rd, 1848.
	Another Account, reprinted from the *Newcastle Journal.*
From the Author,	Suggestions for the Advancement of Literature and Learning in Liverpool, by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., F.S.A., 8vo., Liverpool, 1851.
	Notes of a Lecture on Querns, by Ditto, 8vo., London, 1851.
From Wm. Shuttleworth, Esq., Town Clerk, Liverpool,	Report of the Town Clerk as to the Payments in respect of Churches.
	The Proposed Sanitary Amendment Bill.
From the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A.,	Newspaper Cuttings respecting the family of Lever in Lancashire.
From Thos. J. Kilpin, Esq.,	A Series of Cuttings and Papers.
From Henry Kingsmill, jun., Esq., Dublin,	Rubbing of a Brass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from the tomb of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth.

The following Articles were exhibited :—

By Jos. Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Curator,	Six gold armillae, of ancient British work, found near Bowes Castle, Yorkshire. These interesting objects were found in a garden, by a person who was digging the ground for the usual purposes. Their weight is nearly 16 oz., and the gold is as usual nearly pure.
	A wooden cross nearly two feet long, partly covered with plates of brass, richly gilt, and ornamented with coloured stones, several of which still remain in their original settings, with the figure of Christ upon it.—Two plates of bronze, each with a figure of Christ on the cross, and a saint in each of the corners.—The head of a procession staff, which was also a reliquary, the sacred deposit being en-

closed in glass. This like the cross has been ornamented with coloured stones or paste, and gilt all over.—All these are beautifully illuminated in colours of Limoges enamel.

A bronze key, 20 inches long, with raised characters on the shaft, and on the head or bow part. The meaning of these was not explained. It was suggested that the key had belonged to a Gnostic Society, and that it had been the symbol of office borne by the chief or principal.

Two leaden cups and a spoon;—specimens of the ordinary domestic utensils of the middle classes in England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Three Roman bronze fibulæ, and a small bronze bell.

A letter was read from Thomas Lyon, Esq., of Appleton Hall, near Warrington, shewing some recent discoveries in the Roman Road near Stretton. It was accompanied by a map, on which the discoveries were marked.

The following Papers were read:—

I.—On the Cheshire Watling Street, and Traces of Roman Occupation in Lancashire and Cheshire.

By John Robson, Esq.

There can be no doubt that Archæologists are indebted, and by and by will be still more indebted, to the Ordnance Survey of this country. It is, indeed, a document newly recovered, by which we may explain and correct our written records, few and imperfect at the best, and a careful study of which will throw great light upon the early history of Lancashire and Cheshire.

We find laid down upon this map a road named Watling Street, following a remarkably direct course from Manchester, through Northwich, to Chester. Between Manchester and Stretford it is marked "Roman Road;" between Stretford and Northwich "Watling Street," as also in Delamere Forest and under Edisbury Hill—but between Chester and Kelsall it is again marked as "Roman Road."

It would be exceedingly desirable to ascertain what foundation there is for the name of "Watling Street"—whether it is so called in any ancient document, or whether the country people know it by that name, and if it be authentic, then does it imply that it was a *primeval* road, adopted by the Romans? or, was it an original work of that people?

From the map it would seem that between Manchester and Northwich it coincided with the present Highway, except near Dunham, where the latter makes a detour by Altrincham. About a mile from Northwich, on the East, we find "Over Street," in the direct course of King Street, and which probably points out the intersection of the two roads. At 5½ miles from Northwich, on the West, the present road runs a little to the South, while the old one continues its straight course, and here we find evident remains of it.

Two roads intersect each other at Crabtree Green, and it is from the angle on the West that the Watling Street, following the right line from Northwich, goes across a field, and through a plantation, to the corner of the Forest Inclosures. It is here planted over, and is more or less clearly marked for half a mile, running a little to the South of West. It is 9 or 10 yards across, bearing a well-marked crown, with shallow ditches on each side, and traces of mounds or cops beyond them. Gravel is spread over the surface, and there is said by the Foresters to be a strong bed of solid gravel, 18 inches deep, below. The traces, after an interval of about a mile and a half, reappear with a different character, still keeping the original course under Edisbury Hill. Here it has the appearance of two rather high embankments, from between which the gravel may have been removed; in one part, for 60 or 70 yards, where the red sandstone cropped out, there were two deep ruts, with the Horse track between, while the soft rock has been cut down on each side, so as clearly to define the breadth of the road.

It soon (probably) joined the present road again, but its course to Kelsall is not given on the map, and the modern road again makes a curve to the South. To the west of Kelsall we have Street Farm, and the Highway goes on to Tarvin—but in the direct line of Street Farm, and about half a mile from the part that turns to Tarvin, we have the remainder of the Roman Road, still for four miles used as the Highway, and continued for a mile in the direction of Street Farm.

We have here, therefore, distinct evidence of a road either adopted or constructed by the Romans, with occasional breaks, it is true, but so trifling, as to throw not the shadow of a doubt upon the fact. A large portion of it is still used as the great Highway, between Manchester and Chester; much of the remainder is still evident, and it is highly probable that every part of it might be clearly demonstrated.

The general course of this road may be described as South South-west, from Manchester to Holford Street, and as a little to the South of West from thence to Chester.

King Street, which has been already mentioned, runs from Broken Cross, a little to the East of South, to Kinderton, and though the road Over Street, (about a mile) and from that point to Frandley, (2½ miles) has not been traced, I do not think any person will deny that King Street is a continuation of the road at Stockton Heath, and that this North and South road crossed the Watling Street at or near the point marked Over Street on the map—that is about a mile to the East of Northwich.

In the first volume of the Archæologia, we have part of a letter from Mr. Thos. Percival, dated Royston, July 6, 1760, in which he says, "I have traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the Condate of the Romans was Kinderton, in Cheshire; the road is visible almost all the way, and the camp yet visible at Kinderton, where the Dane and Weaver join: there is a Roman way from thence to Chester, another to Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, and another by Nantwich and Whitchurch to Wroxeter." Whitaker, who appears to have been rather sore at being forestalled in this discovery by Percival, says, (Hist. of Manchester, vol. I. p. 153.) "In the first volume of Archeologia, published this very winter (1770-71), by the Antiquarian Society, I find that the late Thomas Percival, Esq., fixes Condate at Kinderton with me. But he asserts the Roman road from Manchester to be 'visible almost all the way;' when, the Roman and present actually running almost all the way together, it is impossible for the former to be more than partially and occasionally seen. And he also asserts the Roman Camp to be 'yet visible at Kinderton, where the Dane and Weaver join,' when it is seen only in the remains of two ditches, and these are at the distance of some miles from the conjunction of those rivers. But Mr. Percival was only a young Antiquarian when he died. Had he lived longer, his natural genius for these studies

would have been more highly cultivated, his fund of learning considerably enriched, and his lively mind have acquired new vigor and additional accuracy, from the habit of observing and reflecting."

It seems, then, that all that was to be seen at Kinderton was the remains of two ditches. But we must briefly advert to Whitaker's own account of the Roman road to Chester. After tracing this to half a mile past Holford Street, he says, "A little beyond the conclusion of this, the present road beginning to tend too much towards Northwich, the Roman insensibly steals away to the left; but about a mile beyond the point, and in the direction of the course, we recover it again," (p. 142.) It is exceedingly difficult, with the Ordnance map before us, to imagine how it would be possible to heap up so many blunders in so small a space. "The present road beginning to tend too much towards Northwich," might lead one to suppose that it had at any time tended to some other point. "The Roman *insensibly steals away* to the left." But the Roman is not such a sly fox as Whitaker would have us believe; he leaves the Northwich road most abruptly, at an acute angle, turning his back upon Chester, and taking a course as has already been stated, a little to the East of South, certainly in the direction of its own course, but assuredly in no course between Manchester and Chester, or Manchester and Kinderton. With reference to the name of Kind Street, given to it by Horsely and Percival, we may ask, as with Watling Street, what is the authority for it? If it is merely a suggestion of those writers, we must protest against its use. But if the original name can be shewn to be Kind Street, it is quite at variance with custom to give such a name to a road ending at the place which gives it. Thus we have in the town of Warrington, Sankey Street, Winwick Street, and Manchester Lane, all leading to those places; but we have no Warrington Street. The roads from the gates of Rome were named from the places to which they led, but it would be ridiculous to add instances of so well known a custom. Again, says Whitaker, "The name Condate is pretty loudly echoed in that of Kinderton"—an Irish echo evidently. He felt the difficulty of the *R*, and attempts feebly to get over it. I am not aware of an instance where the Saxon *ton* has been added to a Latin name, and in Domesday Book we find it written *Kinbreton*, which wont echo at all. After a description of the Harboro' field, he says that a Roman road which traverses "a field immediately without the camp, goes to Mediolanum, in

Shropshire. Another went by Holme Street Hall to Chester, and a third extended by Street Forge and Red Street to Chesterton, near Newcastle." I shall not follow Whitaker in his excursions into the territories of the Carnabii and Cornavii, though as a specimen of learned folly and ingenious trifling it would be hard to find its equal.* I have now to notice the latest discoveries that have been made at Kinderton, by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Chester, and published in the Memoirs of the Archæological Society of Chester.

The Harboro' Field, which the Archdeacon, following Whitaker, supposes to have been the site of a Roman Station, was explored in July, 1849, for the purpose of ascertaining "how far the gravel of the road extended, and in each place opened, small fragments of Roman pottery, some of Samian ware, were immediately thrown out, sufficient to indicate the place to be Roman, and shewing the probability of much being discovered if diligent search were instituted." This is a very important fact, as it was not known that any thing characteristic of Roman occupation had been found previously, and I think corroborates the opinion I expressed in a previous communication to the Society, that we may place Mediolanum near Middlewich.

It is certainly much to be desired, that the learned gentleman should have said something more about the road which he was looking for. Twenty years ago, the farmer who then occupied the field removed a portion of it, and if it were a continuation of King Street, it must, apparently, have run nearly parallel with the present Lane (Whitaker considers this Lane as part of the top of the Station), and just within the hedge, and if so, the Station must be sought elsewhere, most likely somewhere about the junction of the roads from the South, where we are told the gravel "may be traced

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* Dr. Gale, in his notes on Antoninus, places Condate at Congleton, and says, "Procul dubio autem ad nos venerit a Condate Rhedonum prope Sigerim, Vult autem eruditus Ravennatis editor Gallicus (marginal note, *V. Valesii Notitiam Galliarum, in verbo Condate*), illam deduci a *Condate*, quod affirmat apud veteres Gallos duorum fluminum denotare conjunctionem," (p. 50.)—He says this is the case at Congleton. It s equally so at Kinderton, Northwich, and Stockton Heath. Whitaker asserts that Condate means the principal city, but adduces no evidence, and from this concludes that it was the capital city of the Carnabii!

to the width of between 40 to 50 yards, forming a platea or broadway."* One of these roads, the one from Chesterton, follows a short accommodation road, called Parson's Lane, and then passes onwards, still discernible to the junction just named. Another is supposed to come from Wem, in Shropshire, by Minshull Vernon; it crosses the river Wheelock, near Sutton Mill, and passing through Sutton and Newton, nearly in a line with the present road, unites with the other ways at Kinderton. A foot note says, "The farmers tell me that they find this road very little below the green sod, and that, like many of the Roman roads, it has at intervals narrow footways branching from it."

I need hardly say that it would add immensely to the value of statements like these, if, instead of saying the Roman road appears so and so, the Archæologist would state distinctly what he found. Our actual knowledge, for want of these particulars, amounts to very little, and I should doubt whether a better spot for a thorough investigation of Roman road-making than the neighbourhood of Middlewich could be found in the two counties. It will merely be necessary to refer the members to Dr. Hume's paper on the Roman remains at Stockton Heath as an example.

Whitaker, as has been already shewn, left the direct road to Chester, in order to get to his supposed Condate by King Street; Mr. Archdeacon Wood supposes that he has discovered the way to bring him back again to it. "There has been also a road from the junction at Kinderton to Chester, which would cross the river Wheelock below Stanthorn Hill, and the river Weaver at Bradford near Newbridge, in digging the foundation of which, Roman antiquities were found. I have traced this road from Kinderton a short way, and if the line of it was extended it would pass down Bradford Mill Lane by the south side of Whitegate Church, and leaving Petty Pool to the right would enter the Northwich and Chester road, the northern Watling Street, at 18 miles from Chester." There is a typographical

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* I cannot believe that all the names occurring in the Itinera of Antoninus, and which are generally considered as Roman stations, were either fortified or military positions. The word station is ambiguous and without sufficient classical authority. In the time of Tacitus the following words were commonly used—*Præsidium*, a garrison town—*Castellum*, an outlying fort—*Mansio*, a post house—while *Castra* means merely a temporary encampment.

error I suppose, as it would be about 13 miles from Chester upon the line pointed out. But for what possible purpose could the Romans pass over 13 or 14 miles, when the direct course of 4 or 5 was open before them? This is so utterly at variance with all we know of the routes of that wonderful people, that it would be useless to say a word upon the subject. There are two other roads described as pointing upon Kinderton, but as the only fact connected with them is the discovery of a spearhead (said to be Roman, but the metal is not named) and a bell from a horse's harness, both found when excavating for the foundation of the viaduct at Saltersford, we need not do more than allude to them.

It will not be necessary for me to go into Mr. Archdeacon Wood's recapitulation of the evidence to shew that Condate was at Kinderton. But perhaps a general remark or two may not be out of place. The pseudo-nonymous Richard of Cirencester, as I believe the whole of his pretended history is now acknowledged to be a forgery, and as the Itinera are not admitted into the MONUMENTA HISTORICA, should be altogether discarded, unless some champion reestablishes his authority. Neither should it be allowed to alter the names of towns, and distances, as they appear in Antoninus, and then to shew how capitally they agree with our own peculiar views. The evidence is there, such as it is, to be either taken or rejected, but not to be altered without demonstrative proof. Whitaker treated these matters very lightly. He sought for a place—Condate, Veratinum, Coccium, the Portus Sistuntiorum—and always found the site where they *must* have been; but his successors, till Mr. Archdeacon Wood produced evidence of the Roman occupation of Kinderton, have been less fortunate, and the other three sites are most assuredly *Chateaux en Espagne*, not *Castra Romana*.

I have already alluded to the evidence, and the necessity of adhering strictly to it till some new proof is exhibited. All that we have at present is the Itinera of Antoninus, and if without altering in any way that evidence, we find it accordant with existing remains, we do all that can be done towards identifying a route so described. The second Iter of Antoninus in describing the road from York to Chester has the last station but one, Mamucium or Manutium, as written in some MSS. No one has ever doubted that this place was Castlefield near Manchester, and between this place and Chester, at 18 miles from the former and 20

miles from the latter, is Condate, which agrees with great precision with the position of Stockton Heath. If again we take the tenth Iter, and reverse it, beginning at Middlewich and considering it as Mediolanum, we have 17 miles to the north, on the line of a great Roman road, Condate at Stockton Heath—proceeding along the same road direct north, in 18 miles we arrive at Mancunium, or as read in other MSS. Mancocunium, which would take us to Standish; 17 miles further north brings us to the Lancashire Watling street, and where we should naturally expect to find a post of some sort, this would be Coccium; and at 20 miles beyond this is Lancaster, or the station of Bremetonax or Bremetonacæ. Now in this statement I have changed neither names nor figures. The existence of the road no one doubts, and I feel confident that proofs of Roman occupation will be found at Standish, and at the intersection of the roads to the north of Preston, if carefully looked for. And when we know that such proofs have been found only lately in Middlewich and Stockton Heath, we may confidently expect that a proper search will be followed by successful results, not merely at the two spots already named, but at other places on the line of road. For such inquiry the Historic Society affords a good opportunity, and perhaps we may be allowed to hope that such Members as reside in the neighbourhood of the road will allow no chance to pass them of increasing our knowledge of the Roman occupation of Great Britain.

The Members will be gratified to learn that Mr. Lyon has again come upon the Roman road at Stretton, between the point to which Dr. Hume traced it, and Stretton Church, in the Dog Fields. It has the same structure—a foundation of sandstone with gravel over—and points a little to the West of the Church. The gravel appears here to have been less disturbed, and consequently is more plentiful. It is 18 feet wide as in the parts previously examined.

II.—Notes on Genealogy.

By Sir William Betham, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

A communication was read from Sir William Betham which contained a transcript of a Pedigree confirmatory of the descent of Norres of Speke, in female line, from the original house of Le Noreis of Blackrod. See Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 141.

It alleges *descent* of Bradshaw of Haigh *from* Mabell Noreis wife of Sir William Bradshaw; and the subsequent descent of Harrington of Wolfage in Brixworth, Northamptonshire, from Mabell, Lady Harrington, stated, in this MS., to have been daughter of Sir William Bradshaw of Haigh, descendant from Sir William and Mabell Lady Bradshaw above mentioned, and an elder brother of Hugh Bradshaw, continuer of the male line of that house now represented by the Earl of Balcarres as its heir general.

The further descent of the Harringtons is brought down to the eleven co-heirs of Sir James Harrington, of whom Clemence was the wife of Henry Norres of Speke, Esq., in the time of Henry VIII.

Sir William adds his opinion that Norres of Speke selected that portion of the sub-divided Harrington estates which contained the manor of Blackrod, "on account of its having been, antiently, the property of the family." Other remarks were made on the pedigrees of Bradshaw of Marple, and an Irish branch of Brooke of Leighton.

III.—Description of Lydiate Hall.

By William John Roberts, Esq.

Some account of Lydiate manor in the parish of Halsall, of its manorial lords, and especially of its ruined Chapel, is already recorded in the papers of the Society. In continuation of the subject we shall attempt to describe their manorial residence.

Lydiate Hall is situated, like most of the houses of our ancient gentry, in a low and secluded situation. It is placed on a level tract of country in several parts well wooded; and commands a view to the south-west of the sand hills that bound the Irish sea, and of the Carnarvonshire mountains in the extreme distance. On the north-east, Clive's hills, in the adjoining parish of Aughton, bound the prospect, the monotony of which is relieved by the spire of the Church in the distance.

The present edifice was erected or enlarged by Lawrence Ireland, the founder of the chapel, son of Thomas Ireland of Lydiate, son of Sir John Ireland of Hutt and Hale, descended from Sir John Ireland who was interred at Hale in the year 1088. This ancient and wide-spread family, a branch of which was seated at Bewsey near Warrington, numbered among its alliances the principal families in this part of the county, viz.: those of Stanley, Molyneux, Holland, Torbock, Bold, Atherton, Hesketh, Norres,

Scarisbrick and Blundell. Of these, only those of Molyneux and Hesketh are represented by direct descendants; the others by collateral branches.

Lawrence Ireland flourished during the era celebrated as the age of research and dawn of the reformation, which gave an impetus not only to classical and theological studies, but also to science and the arts. While the former were adorned by the talents and critical acumen of the master spirits of the age, who produced effects that will long be felt, the latter were cultivated by the genius of Bray, Hylmer and others. Architecture and Sculpture assumed new features; and the Hall at Lydiate affords evidence that its possessor felt their influence and cultivated their acquaintance.

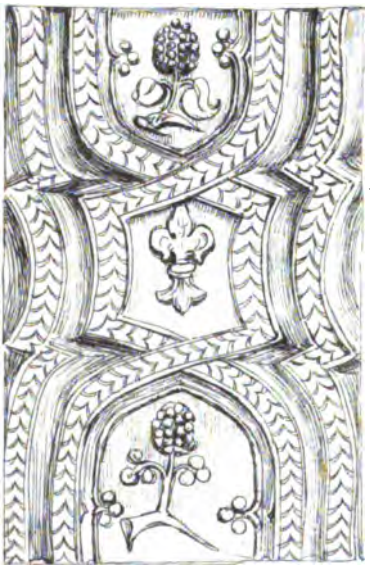
The ancient Hall is erected on a basement of stone, and consists of timber framed in perpendicular, horizontal and angular lines, arranged in quatrefoil and other panels. The interstices are filled with plaster, producing with the gables and their decayed hip-knobs, a picturesque combination of forms. Prior to the year 1760, when it was in a more perfect state, it presented a fine specimen of the domestic architecture of the mediæval age: a part of the north side and east front, with the principal entrance, was then standing. Subsequently, in consequence of the roof being dilapidated, they were taken down; by order of that munificent patron of the fine arts, the late Henry Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell. This event he ever afterwards deeply regretted.

The original plan was that of a quadrangle, the buildings enclosing a spacious court. The present remains consist of the west and part of the north and south sides, giving it the air and effect of a centre with two wings. The dilapidations of the latter have been tastelessly restored with brickwork. In each angle of the centre there are projecting compartments with gables. The basement storey is lighted by a continuous series of windows, which extend its full length, and also pass round the projecting part of the building. In the south-west angle, above these, runs a line of of quatrefoil panels, on which rest the chamber windows. In the projection of the north-west angle is the entrance. It has been modernised, by covering with pilasters and panels, the oak-moulded and chamfered jambs and the lintels. Above the centre of the arch are carved the initials F. A. and on a shield the arms of Anderton are carved and emblazoned;—sable, three shackle bolts argent. Within the arch is the date 1744; and the initials F. A. are repeated. From the porch the passage leads to a door in the west front.

front. Here there is a carved and emblazoned shield of arms, granted to Edward Ireland, by Richard St. George, Norroy in 1613;—gules a spear in bend or, headed argent, the head pointing to the sinister base point. At the other end, a pennon pendant of the third; between six fleurs de lis of the last,—all within a bordure engrailed of the second pelleté. Affixed to the wall, there is a hatchment of the Marquis of Worcester—Crest, a portcullis with a crescent for difference. Arms, 1st and 4th, or, a fess gobony, argent and azure, quarterly France and England; quartering Pembroke and Woodville in the 2nd and 3d. A crescent for difference. Sir Francis Anderton, first Baronet, of Lostock, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Charles Somerset, second son of the Earl of Worcester, Privy Seal. Their son, Sir Charles Anderton, second Baronet, married a daughter and coheir of Edward Ireland, and succeeded to the estate of Lydiate. For these reasons, no doubt, this escutcheon was placed here, on the death of Sir Charles Anderton's maternal grandfather the Marquis of Worcester. This would be in accordance with the custom that existed—to send escutcheons to be suspended in churches where family property was situated, or where branches of their family resided.

There is a model of a tench caught by Sir Francis Anderton the sixth and last Baronet, in 1774, on which are his initials and the date. Sir Francis was out in the Rebellion of 1715, and was taken prisoner on the 13th of November, after the battle of Preston. He and several others were led through London on horseback, with their arms pinioned behind them, and consigned to Newgate. They were afterwards tried for high treason, and he being indicted as a Baronet, pleaded that it was not so, as the title belonged to an elder brother, a Roman Catholic Priest, who was abroad. He was found guilty and the title and estates were forfeited; but he was afterwards pardoned and retired to Lydiate. The inscription mentioned above, and those on the porch, are an evidence that he was enjoying the pleasures of domestic life; in the delightful recreations of old Izaak Walton, and in altering and repairing the Hall. The arms on the porch, in which he has omitted the Ulster canton, are an evidence that he did not venture to assume the title of Baronet again. He lost his lady prior to 1750; she was interred within the ruins of the domestic Chapel of Lydiate. He survived her ten years, and was interred at Halsall Church, aged 69. Some say that he was interred on the site of the south wing of the Hall, that had been taken down; it is now planted as a flower garden.

Plate VI



CARVED PANELS.
Lydiate Hall

H. C. Pidgeon.

On the landing to the left, a door opens to a large chamber with a panelled ceiling, divided by massive beams, (which are slightly curved and richly moulded,) into twelve compartments. These are sub-divided by smaller mouldings that cross each other at right angles, and intersect with a part of the mouldings of the principal beams, the ends of which die into the cornice of the room. With the exception of the centre one, that is supported by open trusses, the cornice is of the same character as part of the mouldings of the beams. The panelled wainscot is finished with an angular fillet in herring bone, with a cavetto above, enriched with grapes and vine leaves surmounted by a corona. Between the beads of this the surface is pierced, and contains winged figures bearing wreaths containing shields. There are two other figures seated, one playing a bass violin, the other a bagpipe, One section of the wainscot consisting of three panels in width is arranged thus. *First Height;* napkin panels. *Second Height;* a unicorn's head erased, a dragon rampant, and a dancing bear. *Third Height;* grapes and vine leaves, a wyvern, grapes and vine leaves. *Fourth Height;* a branch with a rose, a dolphin, a branch of oak with acorns. *Fifth Height;* a bear, a bull, and a branch of oak. To enumerate the whole of the beautiful carved work in this room would be to form a dry and tedious narrative without doing justice to the subject.

The drawings which accompany this paper, of a few of the interesting features of the Hall, are the fruits of the faithful pencil of our Honorary Secretary, Mr. H. C. Pidgeon, whose talent and accuracy as an Antiquarian Draughtsman are well known; especially to ourselves who have so often profited by them. The illustrations give a much better idea of the enrichments than language can convey.

The ancient gallery over the Hall has been appropriated from an early period, as a Chapel for the Roman Catholics of the neighbourhood.

At the west front, there is an avenue of ancient and noble trees, which form a delightful promenade, especially when their venerable trunks and foliage are gilded by the setting sun. A frame of mind is induced suitable for contemplating the past, as their tall shadows fall darkly around,

> "The eye of evening brightning through the west,
> 'Till the sweet moment when it shuts to rest."

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. APRIL 3rd, 1851. **No. 6.**

The Sixth ordinary Meeting of the Session was held at the Collegiate Institution,

SAMUEL GATH, Esq., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Presents to the Society were announced:—

From the Cambrian Archæological Association,	Archæologia Cambrensis for January and April, 1851.
From the Archæological Association of Great Britain and Ireland,	Their Journal for January, 1851.
From Jas. Boardman, Esq.,	His Tract entitled "Bentleyana."
From Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.,	Lettres sur l'Historie Monetaire de la Normandie.

The following Articles were exhibited:—

By Jas. W. Whitehead, Esq.	Two Silver Coins of the Roman Emperors, found at Torbock in Lancashire.
	A Copper Coin, ditto, ditto.
	A fragment of the Earthen Vase in which they had been deposited.
By Dr. Hume,	Wilson's Archæology and Prae-historic Annals of Scotland.

The following communication was made to the Society:—

A verbal description of the Fitton Brass, presented at last meeting;—noticing costume, quarterings, &c. The very accurate transcript of the inscription in Ormerod's History of Cheshire, vol. iii., pp. 290-291, was read.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Nomenclature of the British Tribes, particularly as regards the Northern Parts of England; embracing the Names of Rivers, Mountains, Countries and Persons, illustrated by a comparison with those of other Countries,

By William Bell, Phil. Dr., Secretary of the British Archæological Association for Foreign Correspondence.

"Les noms propres preservent a l'oublie des derniers vestiges d'une langue que le cours des evenemens fuit disparaitre de la region ou elle a long tems regnè.—Un ou deux mots radicaux les composent: ces mots que souvent offrent des donnèes premieres pour l'etude d'une langue peu connue, aident souvent aussi a retrouver les traces de la descendance ou de la dispersion d'un peuple; leur identitè de deux peuplades qui des long-temps peut-etre ont perdu de vue leur premiere origine."

Salverte, Essai sur les Noms, vol. i. p. 29.

In offering, at a short notice, this paper on British Nomenclature to so learned and zealous a body of antiquaries as that of which the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire consists, I feel that I have need of a more than usual share of indulgence, partly because as a stranger to your north-western counties I approach the task wholly unprepared by previous recollection, and also because really so little exists of ancient record more especially belonging to this division of the kingdom. Camden himself (Gough's Edit. vol. iii. p. 127,) begins his account of your county with the words—"I fear I shall give little satisfaction to myself or my readers here." Though, therefore, I may have to rest solely upon the analogy of your names with those in other places of similar sound or situation, and the conformities of your local designations with those of very distant and disjointed countries, I trust still, since a time must have existed when all the earth was of one tongue, by a due consideration of the reasons and causes which have induced Nomenclature in other places, and where they still remain significant, to disinter some of your names from the long death or misconception they have undergone for countless ages, and to make many things appear intelligible that are now without meaning or relation.

As, however, much depends in a name upon its true orthography, it will be necessary to premise a few words upon our alphabets and spelling in general, which will necessarily be too concise to exhaust so fertile a topic—not to divert too much of this Lecture from its main object.

All men have similar organs of speech as of sight or hearing, and all letters are pronounced by the same modifications of their respective organs. If therefore all men were agreed when writing and alphabets were first introduced, by what letters each sound should be represented, the greatest cause for the diversity of languages would have been obviated: unfortunately this is not the case. Not only in different languages but in our own is one sound represented by different letters, but the same letter sometimes represents different uses and combinations of our vocal organs. For some sounds we have no alphabetical sign whatsoever. Thus the peculiar shibboleth of our English language, the theta or th, has no representative amongst our 24 letters, and can only be signified by the union of T and H; and in the German chi or ch is equally wanting. It is, however, an acknowledged linguistical principle, which the great German lexicographer, Adelung, fully recognised, *that all letters pronounced by the same or similar organs, and their combinations, are convertible inter se or one with another:* thus B, V, P, F, easily glide into each others' places; so G, C, K, S, Z, may be interchanged merely by a soft or hard utterance, as the common zed is better known as hard s or iszard. D and T are well-known instances, since many people, particularly the inhabitants of the modern kingdom of Saxony, cannot receive or give back a difference betwixt the two: equally so the inhabitants of Berlin betwixt J and G, with them *Gott* is *Yott*, &c. In the oldest Latinity the R and S are used indiscriminately, as in asa, asena, and casmea, the same words are subsequently spelled ara, arena, carmea respectively. Of the convertibility of the B and V we have an example in the pun of some old Roman tipler, *bibere est vivere*—and I met a remarkable modern instance in the decendants of a Roman Province where the language has suffered less mutation than even in Italy, in the signboard on a road-side estalagem betwixt Lisbon and Coimbra, "*aqui se bend vuon bino*" for the orthodox "*aqui se vend buon vino*"; but the inscription was in perfect accordance with the vernacular pronunciation. It will be seen that these conformities reduce the function of letters within very narrow bounds, and nearly realize the boast of a modern lexiographer, that he could express all ideas common to mankind by three letters. When, however, to this first etymological principle a second is added, *that vowels are to be totally disregarded*, I think I hear some of the auditory exclaim with a French Count, that etymology was a study in which "les voyelles

vont rien et les consonans peu de chose." Of the importance of vowels take the following instance where through the whole vocal gamut the radical signification remains the same:

Pane, Pen, Pin, Point, Pun.

Here the evident pointed sense of pen and pin is found in *panes*, which were anciently all rhombs and placed with their angles uppermost; in *point*, from the Latin *ponere*, we need no explanation, and for the last, *pun*, we all know that without a point a pun is valueless: thus we find the radical meaning attaches to the consonants, solely without reference to the vowels. Most of the radical monosyllables, the necessarily earliest form of words, admit the same test, and may be run through all the vowels without changing the ground idea. But it must be at the same time distinctly understood that this quality can be predicated of consonants and vowels only so long as language remained purely oral, the reason of which is, the modification of sound by which the vowels are brought out are so minute and indefinite, and run so nearly into one another, that the unaided ear could not make the necessary separation; as soon however as letters were invented, another sense, the eye, was called in to its assistance, and the mind gained another avenue of intelligence; then the vowels became substantial and significative; but even now, where we have not seen a proper or a foreign name written, how few of us would venture to say he could write it correctly from merely hearing it pronounced. I dare say the story is known to all of an intelligent boy being asked to write the word potatoes; and that, upon chalking down pot correctly, after some consideration he added eight o's, thus spelling it as he heard the word pot-oooooooo's, and certainly not having seen the word, very fairly. So a Somersetshire boy who made thirteen grammatical blunders in spelling the word usage, could not be said to have very incorrectly given the dialect of his county, when he wrote down the letters yowzidtch; the thirteen blunders being made up by the eight redundant letters he inserted and the five true ones being omitted. Yet supposing both had been at the first formation of letters, we may readily suppose that their methods of spelling would have been received as correct and our present modes as vulgar and illiterate. It was necessary to give these few preliminary remarks on a most important subject, that when it is necessary in the sequel, to apply this convertibility of letters to practice, or to neglect and exchange occurring vowels, we may

be neither startled nor astonished at the results, nor at the variations which writing and written characters have introduced into dialects and languages, originally identical, by the discrepancies of orthography.

Now as to names themselves; I believe that few of the present day will be hardy or zealous enough to assert immediate inspiration of the Deity, for the formation of speech, or for the origin of names and words. This theory was formerly willingly entertained for a ready and authoritative solution of all doubts, and precluded all further questioning; the inconsequentialities, however, it involved, and the contradictions included in following up its inferences, soon elicited scruples in the breasts of the most orthodox, and produced misgivings and scepticisms which it was found impossible to reconcile. Even for his less sublime divinities Horace's maxim,

Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus,

is just and natural, and it holds good in an infinitely greater degree where the intervention we invoke is immeasurably above the impotent mythology of Rome, and in a case too where the interference is unnecessary. For perhaps by an example, we can best shew how a language could be formed by the mere exercise of voluntary or interjectional power which man possesses in common with all animals, and its development by the various powers of the understanding. A flash of lightning first bursting upon the sight of a savage would give rise to an exclamation of surprise and astonishment which we will assume was LO!—that interjection would necessarily mark his future perception of a similar phenomenon, or of any similar one as fire or light, and it is not perhaps too hazardous a conjecture to suppose that this word would have signified fire and light in the first spoken language of the world, one that is prehistoric and dates long before we have any written annals, and which, like the ruins of a Cyclopean structure, can only be partially reconstructed, from its widely scattered and broken fragments. That, however, *Loh* may have been the earliest designation of fire, is partially confirmed by finding it intact or inflected still in various languages, even of the west, in this meaning. *Loh* is still in full integrity significant for fire in modern German, and the expression "*das feuer brennt lichter-loh*," almost literally translatable by our English, *the fire burns* (with a) *lilly-low*, shews the tenacity of language and the immense antiquity of parts of our own; where, however, an idea like fire

once enters the mind, the doctrine of categories first taught by Aristotle instructs us that it is capable of a tenfold increase, namely, as to (1) quantity, (2) quality, (3) relation, (4) action, (5) passion, (6) time, (7) place, and (8) situation, and (9) habit, and its own simple perception forming the tenth; each of the ten modifications forms a fresh idea that is also capable of its own ten fresh categories and of a similar extension, and thus we have for each word a tenfold geometrical progression in continued activity, so that a very slight knowledge of arithmetic is sufficient to convince you what an infinite variety of ideas would be formed in a very short series from this single interjection. Part of this abundance may still be found in our own language, in glow, gleam, gloom, gloaming, looming, glisten, glitter, glass, glaciere, gloss, clear, glide, slide, slip, slow, sluggish, &c., &c., and the field is opened still wider when the idea is again considered as subject or object, actively or passively, negatively or consequentially. *Glory* and gloria is but the halo of light encircling the aspirant or obtainer of fame as a metaphor; *glee*, the pleasure consequent upon obtaining it. These are a very few examples of derivations in our own language, of this interjection, which a very transient search has enabled me to particularise; but when we further consider that lo, or rather the letter L, as a liquid, would admit its vowel as well before it as after, thus al, el, il, ol, ul, equally with la, le, li, lo, lu, the infinity of derivation from this single letter L is almost beyond conception and certainly beyond belief. It is corroborative of the idea that it was the first word, since it enters into all the earliest names of Deity; well might, for that reason, the Greeks term it *the letter of light:* LAMPDA, the lamp; for light and its visible agent the glorious sun was the earliest, because the most beneficent object of worship and adoration; the letter B, which takes its station at the head of most alphabets, (disregarding vowels), because it is the ideagraphic representative of superiority and power, is added to the primitive el to form the Bel, Baal, Belinus, worshipped all through the western world from China and the Indus to the woods of Caledonia, is but an emphatic reduplication of the original idea—as *all; All*-Fadir of the Edda; Pope's Father of All, it gives a beautiful metonomy and substantial significancy to our present adjective, but this, by the common process of verbal coining as in the Arabic Allah, brings the Mussulman's Deity also within the circle. The great Sun God of the Pelasgi, the radiated and resplendent Helios was etymologically

but the son, *υἱος* of our el, and the reason why so many other people call that glorious luminary the sun; besides the Roman Sol, the names of many of their greatest Gods were all only verbal offsets of this universal Divinity. Apollo resolves itself into Ab-ollo, besides that he is frequently styled Belinus. Vulcan—Bul or Bel-khan, of which the last syllable is of the oriental signification of great; his sister is Bellona; Vesta was Cy-bele. Mercury also called Cy-lenius and even the Athenian Pallas. Nay even amongst the Hebrews it seems to have been borrowed to represent Divinity in general, as El, and in the plural Elohim, was a necessity where they were forbidden to pronounce the awful tetragrammaton the unspeakable ineffable Jehovah.

But the subject of light and the Deities of light, Licht-gottheiten, as named by the Germans, would alone fill a volume. Having therefore adduced them as an example, I pass them by for the present till I have the opportunity of an independent dissertation concerning them—for it is high time to avert from names that are general to those that are particular, from names appellative to names proper. It is a remark by Mr. Salverte in his excellent treatise sur les noms, &c., "tous les noms propres sont originairement significatives," all proper names are originally significant, and in furtherance of this view it will be my endeavour to shew whence and how in many instances this significance arises—and first in the names of rivers and waters.

In Egyptian hieroglyphics the usual sign for water is an up and down stroke joining in an acute angle, and frequently repeated, in fact an angular *waved* line and our Roman A many times reiterated; and the corroboration of the fact may be found in a lecture on the antient arts of Egypt, (mentioned Athenæum, October 1848,) where it is stated that "the Egyptians first introduced the wavy ornament or zig zag in their architecture because it was their hieroglyphic for water." We may thence conclude that the letter A was the earliest western designation for water, and we still find it in the little river Aa on which Amsterdam is situated, and whence it takes its name; when gutturalised and duplicated it becomes the Latin *aqua*, and the same guttural is strongly retained in indigenous name of that town which the Romans called *Aguisgrannum*, the French *Aix la Chapelle*, but in German *Aachen*, all names indicating the famous hot medicinal springs or waters for which its suburb Burtscheid is still so

famous. Another and principally German form for water is *Au*, as the Don-au or Danube, merely the big water, as I shall hereafter prove; this diphthong is a fruitful source of German nomenclature in connection with rivers whose basins from it usually take the names of Gaus, the Rhinegau, the Maingau, Neckargau, are familiar to all who have made a summer trip to Rhenish Prussia, and in Lancashire you have it in the *Edder-ow*, where from the doubt attending all initial vowels it may signify the watery abode of the otter or of the adder. In Scotland the name is more frequent, Linlithgow commonly Lithgow, and even the famous City of Glasgow, it being understood that the oral sound of *au* in the German is precisely that of our ow, and might thence suggest some older name for the Clyde or the gliding water, as glass or gless from glesum amber, an indigenous Wendic word, and whence our modern term for glass, when that luxury was introduced amongst us. I know not whence originates the Scottish title of Douglas, for the ducal family of Hamilton still located on the Clyde, but as a river of that name is found in your county, it will there as well as elsewhere signify "shining as in a glass darkly."* But from this au as a root, many British rivers also take their root, particularly from its plural *awen* or *avon*, formed according to the strictest rules of German syntax, and the stream on which our British bard sang "his woodnotes wild," and the Bristol Avon with many others will immediately rise to your recollections. Another plural of the same word, or the French *eau*, as *aus* or *eaux*, has frequently been called into requisition, when rivers were required to be named, as Ouse and the French Oise, which are frequent in both countries, and when you find *Maes*, you may learn it means a river midway between two others, as that Maes on which Maestrict lies runs midway betwixt Rhine and Moselle. So Bach or Beck, by the prefix B, as I have explained above, signifies the head or spring of a river. It may perhaps be travelling very far out of the record when I shew you the widely-spread signification of Aac for water, and I revert to the kingdom of Mexico in America, where, as we learn from Prescot's History of the Conquest of that Country, the plains of the capital, surrounded and intersected by lakes, was called the country of Anahuac, which, the author adds, signifies near the water, equivalent fully to our European *au* or *at-Aach*.

* This derivation if it needed support would be fully corroborated for its first syllable by the Black Water in Ireland, which is merely a translation of the Irish *Avon-dhu*; the vernacular name by which Spenser calls it in his Fairie Queen.

A synonym of the *flowing* properties of water is produced from the same root as for our verb *to run*, or the Greek ῥέω suggesting, in an objective sense, clean or pure, as we say *to rinse:* thence the continental names of *Rhine* or *Rhone*, which has caused for the former much unnecessary discussion amongst German Archæologists, some insisting that the orthography should be *Rein*, clean, without reflecting that it depends upon your considering it as cause or consequence which is correct. In antiquity you have the Rhe or Volga, and the *Bore-aus-tan-aus*, which we spell Borys-thenes, which shews the poverty of the olden vocabularies, being but a repetition of the idea, big water, and that twice repeated to make a word "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." From this root too the Romans made rivers in diminutive rivulus, whence the Lancashire *ribble* and our English word ripple: cognate is bubble, and the lacteary duct or channel by which our first nutriment flows, the female *nipple*.

Wetness, an invariable property of the watery element, is another source of individual nomenclature. It is well known that the ὑδωρ humor, the Theotisc wader, wasser, water are all cognate and derivative words. When Ptolemy calls the Oder of the Wends, which flows past Stettin, Viadrus, he but puts the vernacular idiom as he then heard it, even if at second hand into the best Greek letters he could find. Another northern continental stream has experienced a different fate, in yon the Greek word is still kept nearly intact, but in his *Visurgis* the present *Weser* with Bremen at its mouth, you must take the German language for the correct meaning of the junction of the two rivers Werra and Fulda, as waser, wasser, gewässer, waters. You have a Lancashire Odder, and you may take its derivation either from this primitive idea of wet or from the animal which may have frequented its banks—as Bever-lac, the capital of the East Riding of Yorkshire, had its name when beavers were indigenous and in great numbers there; but if you prefer the animal you but remove the relationship one degree from the root, as it is evident this fish-seeking beast must have taken name from its natural and necessary humid habits. That water is not only the cause of wetness but the true parent of wet and wade, as mere words, you may learn from the still prevalent term of *watte* for sand-banks frequently dry at low water, places therefore where a *wader* may *wade;* and hence too the German and Anglo-Saxon term for the calf of the leg, *wade* being the scale by which such depths are measured. Perhaps

the most curious etymological result of this definition for the prevalent element is, that *water* and *father* are etymologically the same words, which might have been predicated almost a priori from the consideration that all the oldest theogonies, the Vedas and the Eddas, make fluidity the magna parent, water the father of all things, or the father of all things water. The etymological proof is that the German vater was pronounced and originally spelled vadder, and I have heard a West Riding pronounciation of the present day not very dissimilar. It is certainly curious that we can find many other proofs of Indo-Germanic conformities, proving our eastern descent and a common origin. From water you have, I conceive, your Were and Weyer and Weaver, through various stages of contraction and oral corruptions. The Yorkshire Ure is nearly identical with the Grecian prototype.

There is a third inherent property of water which is also a fruitful source of nomenclature in all countries; its unstableness and aptitude of change, necessarily also involved in its previous power of motion. One of our oldest terms for change is the obsolete *wend*, of which we use the past tense in conjugating the verb to go, as, *he went;* though Spencer, in the following line of his Fairy Queen, uses it as a substantive:

"He knew the various *went* of mortal way."

Our modern usage would put here improperly *wont;* but, as I have already remarked vowels are etymologically of no consequence, you may try the vocal gamut of the consonants and the meanings remain radically the same, thus:—*Wane* or *wander*, *wend*, *wind*, *wont*, and the Anglo-Saxon *wundra;* as *wane*, we have the idea of constantly changing, a *waning* moon, and from the same cause a *weaned* child, and *wennel* a common term for any animal taken from its dam. Gray gives us for wind:

"The lowing herds *wind* slowly o'er the lea,"

thereby beautifully expressing the devious courses of our field and pasture ways; and every industrious spinster, to *wind* her cotton, must make many turns. The *wind* itself, equally unstable with the element of water, naturally shares this designation of change. A quotation from Notger's Translation of the Psalms, a Monk of the famous Abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland, in 1020, gives us our Anglo-Saxon root both in a direct and implied meaning when he says, speaking of man:

"I ist wendig; Sela ist unwendig:"

"He is changeable; but God (Sela) is unchangeable."

The most direct derivative of this word for water is found in the Danish language and in its word *vand*, to which my attention was first directed as to its simple sense of water by hearing the frequent demand of the guests at a table d' hôte for vand, vand ; though I afterwards found that Keypler, in his Antiq. Septentrionates Selectæ, had previously drawn attention to the same fact: "Vand autem adhuc Danis aquam denotat." When we recollect that the Romans had not our guttural W, but wrote it either by OU, as our French neighbours at present write Edward by Edouard, or as GU in Guillaume for William, or by the V, we shall not be at any great loss to believe that when they translated the indigenous name of North Wales *Gwenneth* into *Venedocia*, they found in the native term that relation to water which their own term was meant to convey ; a relation that is the clue to this Gælic term as it is to the *Veneti* of all other countries. These Veneti we first meet in Tacitus, (Germ. cap. xlvi.) and his coupling them with the Fenni would of itself give suspicion of fluvial allusion. We next find them in Cæsar in Britany, then in Britain ; but in all these and in other situations this name, when dropped or lost, is succeeded by others which have also the same or strong aquatic meanings. The Baltic Veneti are now the inhabitants of Pommern or Pomerania, which has its name from *po* near to and *mor* sea. The same meaning of *po* in *Po-wis*, that large district of Wales so called because neighbours of the Wissi, Uiccii, Gewissi, of which Uiccorna or Wighorn, Worcester, was the capital. So the name of the Borussi Prussi from Po-russi, the neighbours of the Russians. The Breton Venetoi still retain their ancient name as their ancient valor in the Vendee, and Morbihan, the department of France so called from its large lake, readily resolves itself in Mor-vehan, the Venetic Sea ; but the other denominations of that country, Ar-morica, Aquitaine, Guienne, Poitiers, give us back this watery idea in the various dialects that have prevailed in the country : so their principal cities, Vannes, Rennes, Nantes, are all of aquatic derivation. In Spain, Andalusia requires the strong Spanish guttural pronunciation to produce exact conformity : and in our King Alfred's translation of the Geography of a Vandal Bishop, when his author mentions *mare nostrum*, our learned monarch invariably renders it *wendel meer*, meaning the Mediterranean. Acquileja for a long time gave a Latin coloring to the inhabitants of Northern Italy, the Ἐνετοι of Strabo ; but when its capital was destroyed by Attila, the few fishermen who refounded

their sea city on the marshy islands near, resuscitated the no doubt old Vernacular title, and called their foundation Venice. Many other territorial denominations take their titles from the abounding of neighbouring waters or the prevalence of Wendic nations: thus the Roman province of Vindilicia, which has still many towns that shew unqualified Wendish descent in their names, Wendish-Feistriz and Wendish-Grätz, the latter giving the famous Austrian general his name in opposition to another Grätz, the capital of Styria: and its principal water the Sea of Constance, the Boden See called by Pomponius Mela, Lacus Venetus—answering possibly to an old Persian word for water witnessed in the large lake *Van* in Armenia. When the Romans tell us the goddess Venus, the parent of their race, rose from the sea, they but cloak an etymological truth in a neat mythology; and when the first chronicler sat down to write his fabulous sagas of Rome's origin, he could not divest himself of the grain of truth which his authorities, the old Roman ballads, may have offered, in calling the son of this deity Æneas, more properly Oueneus or Gweneus, and you will at once see how nearly is the relation with your neighbouring Gwenithi and their Owens, Gwynnes, Evans, &c., all modifications of the Ven or Van.

Thus much, as etymological proofs, that we have had Wends in great number and at earliest dates in great prevalence in Wales, and before I enter into their proof in the rest of Britain, I will mention some strong arguments for the identity of this almost extinct people with the Welsh, in agreements of their present language and the identity of many peculiar customs in both countries. In a Welsh catechism published at Shrewsbury (8vo Beddoes,) drawn up, I believe, by a Welsh Commission for the use of schools, and therefore of authority, we have at p. 5, the following passage. "There is every reason to believe the Welsh to be of common origin with the Bretons *and the Wendi in Lusatia and other parts of Northern Germany, and generally speaking, these three people use one common language to the present day.* As to manners and customs, the testimony of a Wendic Prince of the present day is equally strong for the agreement between the native Irish and his countrymen in the two Lausitzen, but it is too long for extraction. Fürst Püchler Muscaw, in his Briefe eines Vertorbenen adduces "the common bagpipe as a national instrument, a similar love of singing and dancing, yet of melancholy and plaintive airs, with a gradually dying language, rich and poetical; both are superstitious, cunning, and

greatly given to exaggeration, &c.; both like to go ragged when they have the means of dressing better, and lastly, spite of their miserable living, both are capable of great exertion though they prefer indolence and loitering." Thus much for the existence of Wends, at least in Wales, and if I establish equal conformities for the rest of Britain, I am aware I shall overturn many received opinions of our earliest history and require an entire revision of our annals prior to the time of Bede. My ideas are certainly new, but if fortified by authorities and argument, they must be true; if true, must prevail. Now for the existence of this people, the Wends, in England, as evidenced in the remaining traces of their language in every part of it, and particularly in their rivers and ports. Der-went is one of the most general designations of streams in our kingdom; it is borne with several others by a tributary to the Ribble. Divest it of its Teutonic definite article *der* and you have the naked term *der went, the water.* Then the Wandle in Surrey, the Wantsum at Norwich, and the Island of Thanet; Wantage in Berkshire, the birth place of Alfred; even Windsor with Wind-der-mere, Winchelsea, Windle near Prescot in your county, and a thousand others need but pointing out to be acknowledged. In France, the prevalence of the prefix Ven, to proper names of places, argues the wide spread rule of the Wendic nation there as the Venaissin along the Rhone, Vendome, &c. &c. For towns our English Ventnor and Ven-ottery. In Scotland, Venachoir are examples. But I have purposely left the three principal names of cities to the last, being the Venta Icenorum or Norwich; Venta Silurum, Caerwent; Venta Belgarum, Winchester, where it will be perceived that for the two latter the Wendic origin is still apparent. The origin and reason of the denomination of these Ventas have given our antiquaries great trouble, which would, I think, have been obviated had they considered the roots as I have done and compared them with Veneta of the Baltic, which Helmold speaks of as once surpassing all the cities of the Wends in opulence and splendour, or the Civitas Veneta of the Bretons, which, with all his might, Cæsar had difficulty in reducing on account of its excellent port and powerful fleet. It is wonderful that in all the conjectures of the learned, it never occurred to any that by the insertion of an elised E an exact conformity of name bringing on considerations of other conformities would have settled the difficulties. That the name was known and acknowledged as Wendic to a

very late period is proved by coins of Athelstan, on which of the Winchester mintage we find the legends VVINULI and WINULI than which no names are more common for Wends in Latin writers.

But perhaps an equally fertile source of fluvial nomenclature is the last I shall adduce, that namely of *relation*, such more especially as regards them as big or little in comparison with neighbouring streams. The name of Don occurs remarkably often as applied to our own rivers as well as those of other countries. There is a Don or two in Scotland and another in Durham near Hedworth; Doncaster has its name from its stream, and others which being more concealed required some elucidation. From whatever cause, which we will not now investigate, Don with its varieties Ton, Tan, &c., carries with it the idea of superiority, spiritual or physical, real or assumed. The Spanish Don usually derives his title from Dominus, but I rather believe the converse of the proposition that Dominus was but the prolongation of an old Arminian word. That Danube, to the Roman Geographers the largest stream in Europe, should receive preeminence amongst streams was natural, and this it still retains to be its present title in his Teutonic Don-au, the great water.* It is now eclipsed by another stream, which therefore with a better title, is also called the Borysthenes. To the Roman ear this Don may have sounded Dan, perhaps Tan, and then we have the most certain illustrations of my idea in the synonm given by them to that portion of the stream where its waters are widest, namely Ister. This word resolves itself readily into the two words *aus*, water, as already explained, and *stōr*, big, as still used in most of the Scandinavian dialects; thus Stor-ting is the Norwegian Upper House of Parliament, as Odel-ting is their House of Commons. We have many rivers Stours in England, each of which, though small, (as all greatness is but relative,) will have some smaller beck over which it lords. *Auster;* another combination, signifies great store of water in another sense; for as the south west wind it has, and rightly, always watery epithets, as humidus, imbrius, Auster. Our older poets used this word adjectively as well as

* The genuine name was formerly better known amongst us than now. Milton, (Paradise Lost, B. i. p. 35,) has, for he had travelled—

"A multitude which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loins to pass
Rhene or the *Don-aw*."

substantively, as in the ballad of Sir Cauline in Percy's relics of Antient Poetry. Sir Cauline says,

"I truste in Christe for to stay this fiende
Though he be stiffe and *Stowre*."

I could adduce examples of Tan as great in all nations, but I will only trespass upon your patience by referring to the Tanistry of Ireland, and the prevalence of this syllable in the names of our Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, as in Athelstan, Wulfstan, Dunstan, Bristan, and Othan, a Scotch king, which leads us to the *Thanes* of that kingdom, which at present suffice.

I have said before, that no comparison can be perfect without a scale by which to measure our ideas; it was an old logical maxim, quicquid major continet in se minus, every greater must have its less; for a reason we cannot now follow there must have existed some reason in the prehistoric language why the idea of little was attached to Tee, Dee, Wye, Wee, which latter we still use in this sense as an adjective, and is it not surprising and in full confirmation of all I have written on Don, that every river with this name should have its co-relative Dee. One Scotch Don has its Dee so closely approximative that both at last conjoin, and their plural Deen gives its name to their outfall at Aberdeen. The Tay is a minor term, and though I am not sufficiently versed in Scotch Geography to point out its major, I feel sufficiently confident from the name of the town at its Œstuary Dundee, to assert that it has or had anciently the wanting superior. The Yorkshire Don has a double less, two Dees united there join it as Dearn, and the Don and Dearn Canal is an important branch of inland navigation for the West Riding. This relation holds good, even abroad; the mighty Don-au has its Tees or Theiss, which, though larger in volume and longer in course than many of our English Dons is still in both inferior to that Prince of European streams. Having however found these factors of comparison and proved their co-relation, it follows that the presence of one necessarily implies the other. Thus having found a Tees in Durham, we must expect in consequence to find there also its Tan or Don, and here the *Tyne* accordingly presents itself with even an additional mark of greatness, as Ituna; now I believe the modern orthography of this name would have been *high Tuna*, which, without a little explanation may appear forced; we have another prefixed I in a proper British name where by its translation by the Romans, this neglect of the aspirate is too plain to be denied—in the Iceni whose

name Cæsar translates as *Ceni Magni* when he enumerates them with four other Tribes (de Bell. Gall. Lib. v. cap. XVII.) who sent hostages after the defeat of Cunobelin, and they are no doubt identical with the Cenomanes of Gaul, of whose name only its particle of greatness remains in the modern Maine.

We have in France a *Devona* as a river, but still accompanied by the larger Factor, which, though verbally different, still retains its designation as greater and superior from another root; this is the modern Garonne, into which the ancient Devona (most probably the modern Lot) falls. When we consider the meaning of the monosyllable Gar, or Car, we find it in combinations which for localities, as Halicarnassus, Cor-cyra, the Persian Kara Hissar and Kara Bug, the Welsh Caer Idris and Caer Caradoc; for persons, more especially in Britain, as Caractagus, Cartismundua, and Carausius; the Stone Cairns, and more especially Caer-gawr for Stonehenge, the Latin Cor for Heart, all prove that in a primitive language ideas of greatness and sublimity, of rule and power attached themselves to this monosyllable, and that Gar-onne or Caer-auen its vernacular which the Latin invaders of Gaul as Gar-amnis or Cæsar's Garumnis, was properly so designated because the largest water of its neighbourhood.

I am now better prepared to approach in your immediate neighbourhood the most famed of these Dees, the Deva of Cheshire known by so many inscriptions and as the head quarters so long of the twentieth Legion, Victoria Victrix. The denomination is undoubted, and it would therefore materially weaken all that I have thus far written if the necessary co-relative were not found in close proximity. I shall endeavour to shew that this necessary quality exists in the Belisama of Ptolemy, and that his Belisama is your Mersey. That every river had its presiding Deity which sometime gave a name and sometimes received one from its waters, may be taken as an established fact; from this idea have sprung many of the finest relics of sculpture which have descended to us from antiquity, as those who have seen the beautiful recumbent statues of Tiber and Nile at Rome can in part testify. In France, at the sources of the Seine, the ruins of a splendid temple to the Dea Sequana have lately been dug up. The altar "Nymphis et Fontibus" in the Park of Eaton Hall proves that high veneration was given to the water Deities in your own neighbourhood,

and its trivial execution and appearance seem to argue that it was a common not an exceptional performance. That the oriental Deity Bel was a favorite in these Northern districts, even as a water God, seems to me evident by the various puzzling inscriptions found near, in which he is styled Belatucadrus which is only Bel-ad-uadras strongly gutturalised, like the Viadrus of Ptolemy and merely Bel of the water; perhaps by frequent use become personal as in Catholic countries our Lady of Loretto or of the Pillar at Zarragossa are singled out from all the other Madonnas. The Greek Βαλσαμος was applied to an oriental drug of great healing powers, of which possibly Bel, with the epithet of Belsamos, may as its peculiar patron have been mistaken for its name, and better understood on your shores as the healing God. If, too, we consider that the superstitious worship of the Bel-Tyne, of which, as the vestiges of it are now mostly confined to Scotland, Jamieson in his dictionary, sub voce, is the best expounder, to have taken its rise and its name on the Tyne river, we have an additional reason for giving that stream the title of High-Tuna, and the name of the God Bel to the Mersey, coupled with an epithet which, cognate no doubt with the Latin sanare, would designate his healing and sanatory powers. That the Ribble cannot be this Belisama, as many have imagined, seems clear from the name Ripa, which it has in Doomsday Book: which Riva or Rivula may still be said to be its modern name: this with Ribchester on its banks upholds the tenacity of this disparaging diminutive for at least eight hundred years, and I know no instance when once a high-sounding, boastful name has been adopted by the inhabitants of any country such as Belisama intrinsically implies, that they have afterwards acquiesced in a meaner and inferior one. The conjugation (if I may be allowed the term) of Ribble, through its vowels, shews how low are all the significations of its consonants—rabble, rebel, robber, rubble. But I find another reason, perhaps a stronger one, both for this dignity as a water God, in Belisama, and as antithetical to the Cheshire Dee in the present name of your river, the Mersey, which it would be superfluous to prove to be more correctly More Sea. Now Mor in all languages signifies undefined because undefinable extension; the Gothic mor, the Latin mare, German meer, English mere, French mer, and instances perhaps in every other language; Emir in Persian, a prince, a good illustration of undefined because irresponsible power, and even *more* the comparative of much, Germ. Mehr, Latin major, all shew the

most indefinite ideas of vast expanse beyond the reach of vision or thought, and *mors* as death but represents the most shadowy prospects of yon bourn. *Sea* or *see* needs no comment, as a large expanse of water it exists in most teutonic languages. An old Greek writer, Ktesias, who, as having resided at the Persian court, had good opportunity of knowing their customs and language, called the King whom we name Belus, Belis-thana, which certainly shews that various epithets were applied to this royal as well as sacred name, and though the addition is not identical with sama, yet as an example of a very ancient Tan or Thane it may be taken as a corroboration of what I have written above on those titles. So *Thana-Lartia* was the indigenous Italian or Etruscan name for the Venus genetrix, the Magna mater, the Source of Being; but Creuzer in his Symbolik (vol. ii. p. 266) cites Augustine and Eusebius for the exact name of *Beelsamen* as a synonym or byname of Jupiter. But that this epithet or title was merely generic, and expressive of great power and perhaps great goodness and wisdom, we may justly believe when we find a Roman inscription, cited from "Selden de Diis Syriis," (p. 174) to Minerva, with the identical addition of this *Belisama*. For the present I will not go into another deduction on this Godhead which would bring it also in conformity with another British and Foreign Deity, with a wide and extended veneration; the God Camulus.

I feel I have already exceeded the usual limits of a lecture, and shall conclude with a few words on the names which geographical relations have given to rivers. The Tueda or Tweed would seem to belong to the class of minors, if you did not consider that the idea of division was here, if not the original, at least the implied meaning: a thing that is cut in two, *two-ed*, is necessarily lessened, and when you consider that this river has for ages separated England from Scotland, it has made both less. The German separate, *entzwei* and *ent-zweien* to part, is exactly similar. Our numeral two, Scotch twa, has its only meaning in the fact that the divided unit is made smaller or wee. Another river, the Severn, takes this name from *severing* England from Wales: so that the fables of a drowned Sabrina, or as Sprott's Chronicle, which your generous associate, Mr. Joseph Mayer, will shortly be able to produce in fac-simile from the unique autograph in his possession, renders the name Habren, cannot have the least authority. The last stream which strikes me with a geographical significa-

tion is the Trent, the boundary of the East Angles from Mercia: *trennen* is still pure German for dividing; our nearest accordant word is rend, *to tear;* rent, *torn.*

Before parting I will only just add, that I consider that the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia took the title from your Mersey, its principal stream, as the adjoining kingdom of Northumberland, from its relative position to the opposite Œstuary: and other instances might be given of countries taking their designations from the rivers they are near. But though I have only gone through one division of Nomenclature, that of rivers, I feel how largely I have trespassed on your patience and how imperfectly I have executed what has been offered, owing to the shortness of notice and other very pressing occupations. Should you, however, think the present views worthy of your attention, I shall, I hope, be able to go through the other divisions of my title at greater leisure with perhaps greater satisfaction to myself and a result better deserving your attention.

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. MAY 1st, 1851. **No. 7.**

The Seventh ordinary Meeting of the Society was held in the Collegiate Institution,

JOHN ROBSON, Esq., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary having announced that the Council recommended his late colleague, H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., for election as an Honorary Member, a wish was strongly expressed that the Society should depart from its usual practice. On the motion of the Chairman, therefore, Mr. Pidgeon was elected by acclamation.

The following Gentlemen were elected Ordinary Members of the Society:—

John George Woodhouse, of 47, Henry Street, Liverpool.
Joseph Dickinson, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., of 5, Nelson Street, Liverpool.

The following Presents to the Society were announced:—

From the Society,	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Vol. ii., Nos. — and 27.
From the Society,	Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, Session 1849-50.
From the Author,	History of Liverpool, by Thomas Baines, Esq., Part V.
From the Author,	Collectanea Antiqua; Vol. II., Part V., by Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.
From the Author,	Treatise on the Cure of Cataract, and the best modes of Operating, by Hugh Neill, Esq.

From the Author,	Roman and other Sepulchral Remains, discovered at the village of Stone, near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire. By J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Sec. S.A.
From the Editor,	The Castle of Love; a Poem, by Robert by Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. Edited Jas. Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., &c.
From Duncan MacViccar, Esq.,	Critic of Pure Reason, by Francis Haywood, Esq.
From Hugh Neill, Esq., F.R.A.S.,	The following Public Documents, referring to the town of Liverpool, viz.:—Abstract of Treasurer's Accounts, 1850.—Report of Chief Inspector of Weights and Measures, 1850-51.—Mr. Newland's Report on St. George's Baths, and Scheme for supplying Salt Water, 1851.—Mr. Hartnup's Report on the Liverpool Observatory, 1849.—The Town Clerk's Report respecting Church payments, 1851.—Bills in their first stage, viz.:—Sanitary, Dock, Building, and Royal Institution Transfer. Amended Copy of the Dock Bill.
From Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Curator,	Nine engravings of Tranmere Hall, or portions of it; to illustrate his own Paper in the Procedings of the Society.

The following Articles were exhibited:—

By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.,	A Saxon copper bowl, found in a grave at the ancient cemetery of Fairford in Gloucestershire, excavated by W. M. Wylie, Esq., 1851.
By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.	The following articles found at Hoylake during the past month:—Three skulls of oxen; the skull and horns of a deer; the skull of a greyhound; the jaw of a calf; and various other bones.—An earthen jug, apparently of the 13th century; a personal seal of bronze; amulets in stone, metal, and terra cotta; fibulæ; pins; an ear-ring; a key; buckles; a finger ring with two stones in it; handle of a metal spoon, with an ornament at top consisting of a monkey cracking a nut.—Silver coins of Edward II. and Edward III.; pennies

Heere Mrs. Idle layes her sickle by
And listens to the Bagpipes melodye
Shees like ten thousand more that lives and gaines
Eates drinks, and sleepes, but neuer can take paynes.

Thou pretty wench thats plucking of a flower
Keepe close the flower of thy virginity.
Beware, for oathes and promises habe power
And woers many times will sweare and lye.

Hoggs like to mizers loathsom are alive,
But when death doth their noysome Lives depriue,
One getts a puddinge, tother getts a ditch,
Much like the goods of wretches that dy riche.

The Lad and Lass are both exceeding blithe
Downe lyes the rabening Rake and shabeing Sithe
As amongst gallants lobe oft keepes a rackett
Within a leather Breech and Russett plackett.

	and halves of pennies of King John; and a curious silver coin with a cock on one side and a monogram on the other.—Portions of shoes and boots in leather; one of them formed of an entire piece, fitting round the leg, and another ornamented by cutting, in the style which was usual with the Anglo-Romans.
	Part of an Amphora in terra cotta, and a bronze coin of Germanicus from Ribchester.
	A wheel-lock musket, richly inlaid with sporting subjects in ivory—date 1616.
	A Chinese coin in gold, of the form of a ring, similar to those used by the ancient inhabitants of these islands, and often found in their graves.
By Hugh Gawthrop, Esq.	Curious lid of an early Dutch tobacco box, found within the ruins of Birkenhead Abbey.
By Dr. Hume,	A pike mounted for action, from the Irish rebellion of 1848.

The Chairman exhibited three documents, from the collection of John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., of Hale. They illustrate the condition of the English language in this part of the country, in the 14th and 15th centuries. The following are copies of them :—

This endenture beres witnes that there as certen wariance and debate for divers trespas that has byen hade be twene Nicholas of Rysley and Dykone his sone apon the tone party and William of the Breche and Richard his son apon the thother partie of the queche variaunce and desbate the sayd parties ben boundene to abide and performe the ordenaunce and dome of me Richard Stanley Arch^{en} of Chestre and as I the sayd Richard have herd the chalanges and vnswares of bothe the sayd parties by gode deliberacion and for als mecull as I fynd the trespas more done to the sayd Nicholas then as done to the sayd William I ordayne deme and awarde the sayd William to deliver to the sayde Nicholas a hoggeshed of Wyn at Weryngton als gode als the sayde Nicholas will chose of Rede or quoyt be twene this and the fest of the annunciacion of oure Laydy next suying after the date of this awarde or elles to pay to the sayd Nicholas ij marks of monee at the election of the sayd Nicholas and gyf the sayd Nicholas schose to the sayd payment of the ij marcs and refuse the sayd hoggeshed of wyne I ordeigne and awarde the sayd William to pay to the sayd Nicholas the sayd ij marcs that is to wete j marc at the fest of St. Hillare day next suyinge after the date of these endentures and j marc at the fest of Pasche then next suying

and also I the sayd Richard ordene deme and award the sayd parties to be fulle frendes for all maner trespas that has byn hade be twene thayme fro the begynninge of the word vnto the day of the gyfing of this sayd awarde excepte ryghte of lond. In wetines of the qwyche thynge I the sayd Richard to aither partie of this endenture have sette my seale. Gyfyn at Wynwhike upon Thursday next after the conception of our Ladye the yere of the reigne of Kyng Harry the sext the tent.

These arne y^{e} euidences shewed before Elys of Entwysell by commandment of my lord of Dureme for Richard of Radclif agaynes Nicholas of Risley of certeyn londs be twene hom in debate yat is for to say of a certyn more and mosse and j mese and XV acre of lond y^{t} was sumtyme parcell of y^{e} forsaid more and mosse.

Richard Wylkynsone the Wryght sworne and examynt sais on his othe y^{t} he was XL yere olde at y^{e} forine dethe and born within y^{e} town of Culcheth and dwellet there LX yere and sais yat he was by qwen Richard of Radclif and Robart of Risley acordet y^{t} y^{e} forsaide XV acre parcell of y^{e} forsaide more and other XV acre y^{e} wheche Robart of Risley had & yis Nicholas has nowe of y^{e} queche y^{e} ton ende lys to y^{e} Redyshaghe shuld be departed of yat wast yat was in comyn bytwene home: and there vpon he sais he saghe home cast cawle and loot so y^{t} y^{e} XV acre y^{t} arne now in debate fellon to Richard of Radclif and yis was done by fore the grete dethe. And he sais all yat more and mosse was in comyn bytwene y^{e} foresaid Richard of Radclif and Robart and he herd never say y^{e} contrary ther of er this debate fell and the forsaid Robart sayd he wold noght for his X exyn yat y^{e} cauell had fallen other was then hit did for hit legh so neghe his tenauntes.

John Atkynson sworne and examynt says he was XVI yere old at y^{e} forine dethe and acordet in all thyngs to the forsaid Richard Wylkynson sane y^{t} he sais he was born in Neuton within ij myle to the forsaid lond and has dwellet in Culchethe xxviij yere sane y^{t} he was noght by at the departesone.

Atkyn Jakson sworne and examynt says he was XVI yere in the forine dethe borne and alway dwellend in Culchithe acordes to the sayng of Richard Wylkynson in all thynges and awre y^{t} sais yat he was by when Margery Richardes moder of Radclif made to take certayn cappulles of tenauntes of Sotheworth vpon the forsaid mene mosse and send hym to Robart of Risley to bid hym come and help to penyssh for pasturyng on hor mene mosse and he said there was more and mosse enoghe for hir and all her kyn and hym and his kyn for euer more and he wold penysshe no pore folke ther fore.

Adam of Longshaghe sworne and examynt sais he was iiij yere olde in the forine dethe and sais he was seruaunt to Robart wyf of Risley sone after the forine dethe and sais yat he herd neuer say before this debate but y^{t} this more and mosse werne in comyn bytwene the hayres of Radclif and Risley and y^{t} the lond was departyt in the maner as Richard Wylkynsone sayde.

Entrance and Garden Front, Tranmere Hall.

Ric. the hunter borne in Culchithe and dwelland lx yore sworne and examynt sais he was iiij yere old in the forine dethe acordes in all thynges to Adam of Longshaghe sane y^{t} he was not seruaunt to Robartes wyf of Risley.

Roger Atkynson of L yere olde borne and dwelland in Culchithe sworne and examynt sais y^{t} Atkyn his fader told hym y^{t} he was by at the departeson of the lond before said and mete and mesuret hit with his hond and of the remenant acordes to Richard the hunter.

And all these byfore said sayn vpon hor othe y^{t} Richardes tenauntes of Radclif and James tenants of Radclif hauen delven turves contynule fro yere to yere and y^{t} the forsaid Richard and James han sold turves contynuely fro yere to yere to hor vse.—Date of endenture appended 2 Feb. 12 Henry 4, at Howden.

Yis endenture beres witnes for as mecal as Richard Jamessone of Radclif and William of Heton on yo toon parte and Nicholas of Risley on yo tother parte arn bovnden be certain obligacions to stonde to yo awarde and yo ordenaunce of hamonet yo Mascy and William of Heton henry of Kyghley and Thomas of Holcroft of certain debates and querels as be yos certain obligacions more fully hit in contenet. Yo forsaid Hamonet William Henry and Thomas ordanen and demen yat yo forsaid Richard shal bere yo pees for him and al his to yo forsaid Nicholas and to al his tenauntes and servauntes: And also yat yo forsaid Nicholas shal bere the pees for him and al his to yo forsaid Richard; and to all his men and his tenauntes fro yo day of yo makyng of yes endentures vnto yo next session quen hit haldes at Lancastre or els vnto yo tyme yat yo forsaid awarders with avice of Thomas of Langley Bysshope of Duram hauen made ful ende. And also yo forsaid awardors awarden yat yo forsaid Nicholas and his tenauntes shyn hooly ocupy yo pasture of yo Redeshaghe mosse undebated be yo forsaid Richard or be his tenauntes in amendement for yo skathe and harmes yat was done to yo forsaid Nicholas at his hous be James yo son of yo forsaid Richard and his men abregyng nonn amendes yat shuld be to yon forsaid Nicholas. And yo forsaid Nicholas yo same pasture in yo maner beforsaid with his tenauntes shal ocupy vnto yo next session beforsaid or els til we mon make ende in yo mene while with avice of yo Bisshope beforsaid. In yo wittenes of queche to yis endenture yo forsaid Hamonet William Henry and Thomas awardors hann set hor seals. Geuen at Lancastre in yo fryday next befor yo fest of Palme seuenday. In yo yere of ye regnynge of yo kyng Henry yo fift after ye conquest yo fift.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Old Halls of Cheshire.—No. I. Tranmere Hall.

By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.

In endeavouring to find some account of the old Hall of Tranmere, I much regret that my researches have hitherto been unsuccessful, as it is

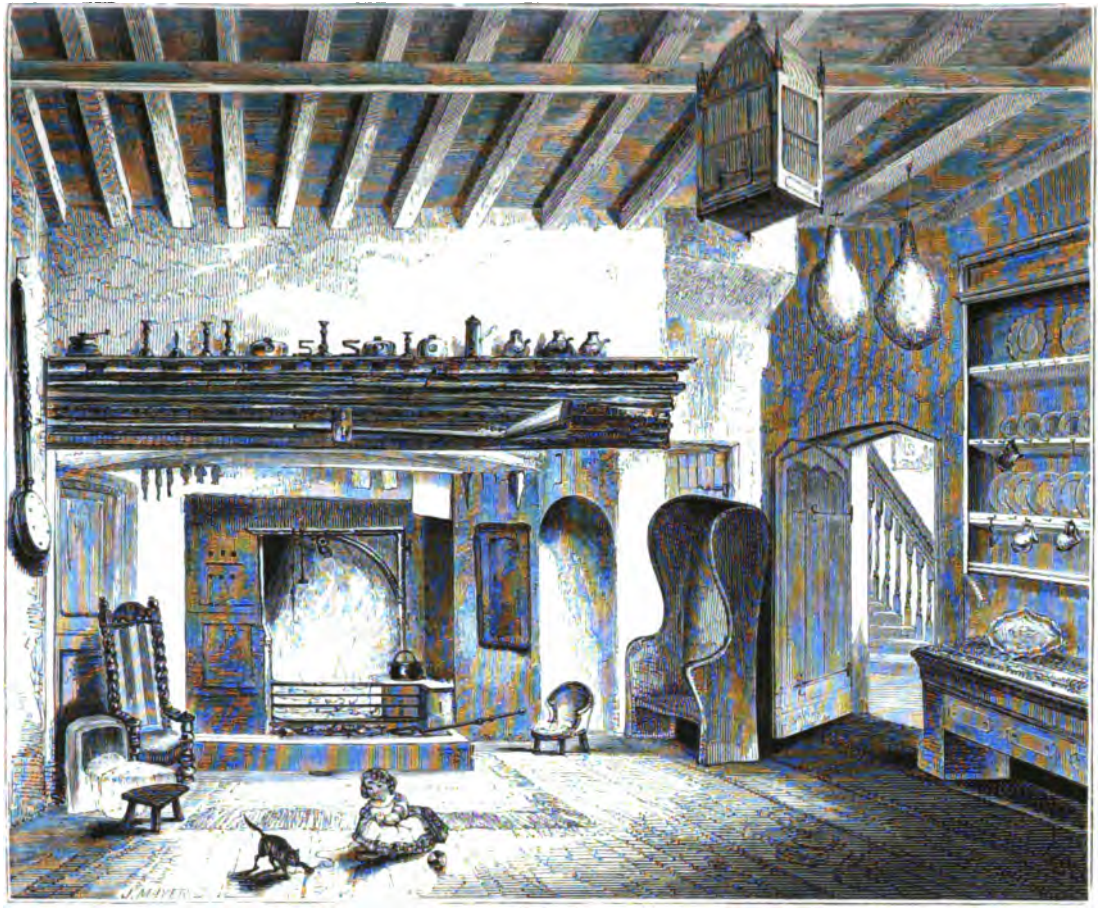
not named in the great Cheshire historian, Mr. Ormerod's valuable work; nor is it noticed by Mr. Mortimer, in his more recent work on the Hundred of Wirrall, not, I am sure, because it was unworthy of their attention, but, I presume, from the fact of their not finding any materials of sufficient historical interest to induce them to give a description of it.

I shall, therefore, merely premise, that in all probability the present structure occupies the site of a much more ancient honse, as we find that in the reign of Henry III. it gave name to a local lord, Bernard de Tranmoll, who held it in possession until the reign of Richard II.; but the present edifice was built in the latter part of the sixteenth century, or the commencement of the seventeenth, and perhaps during the time it was in the possession of the Holme family, respecting whom Mr. Mortimer, our indefatigable brother member, read an interesting paper in the last Session of the Historic Society's meetings.

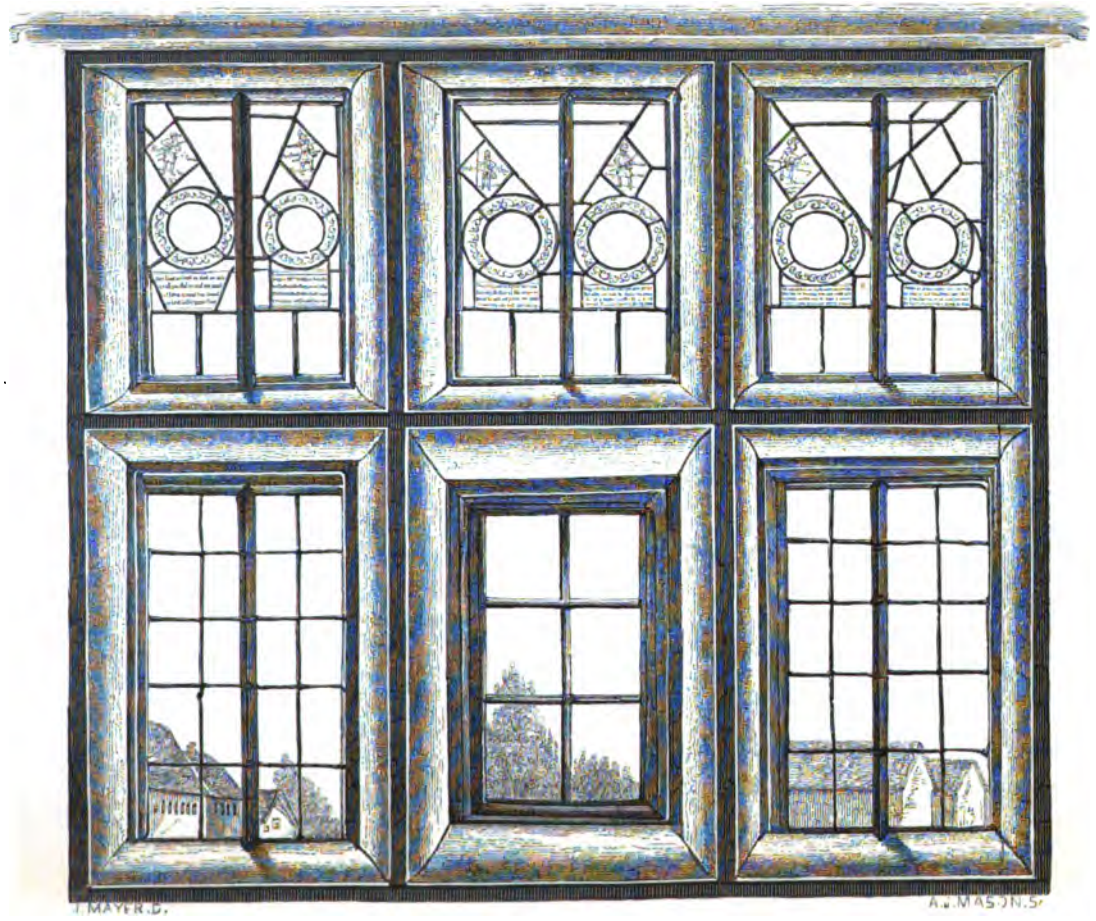
The Hall is situated on the brow of the hill, overlooking, like a mother, the picturesque village which surrounds it, and commanding a grand view of the river Mersey, whose expansive waters make a beautiful feature in the scene as they pass by the great "city of ships," seen in the distance. It is of the usual style of the period, with the centre recessed, the wings having the customary high pitched gables; the stone work of that character which was introduced after the Post and Petrel, mouldings and mullions of windows, plain fillet and ovolo, with addition of ogee for jamb; and with the prevailing larger and lesser projections of offices belonging to the domestic affairs of the family, which add to the effect of the outline of the whole, though not remarkable for any external display or architectural features.

In front of the house is a large garden, the entrance to which is from the high road, through an ornamental door-way, over the top of which, on the right side, are the initials **G L** and the motto **LABOR VINCIT OMNIA** with the date **1614**, and on the left of it the initials **A L**. This door leads into the garden, surrounded by a high wall on the road side, in which are evidences of its having been prepared with loop holes, for defence in case of an attack by an enemy from without. Crossing the garden you arrive at the "big door" of the house, approached by a flight of steps, which takes you into the great hall, more remarkable for its heaviness than for any picturesque effect or peculiarity. Crossing to a side door you get to the staircase which is of modern construction, and ascending it you come to a

Back View, Tranmere Hall.



Great Hall at Tranmere.



Window in Tranmere Hall.

this Round we laughe, we drinke we eate,
es tells you that we wante noe meate:
al sorrow is in good liquor drowonde
as Circle soth the cupps goe Round.

large room, no doubt used on state occasions, or else the principal private room of the lord's family. It has a very large Palladian chimney-piece, lower column fluted and reeded, upper plain Doric, very bold cornice and frieze, on front, and the slab is carved very deeply in writing, "Edward Markland." The ceiling is divided into six square panels, by oak beams, and ornamented with lions, fleurs de lis, &c., in paquety.

In this room is a curiously decorated window, of large proportions, divided into six compartments or oblongs, all of which were formerly filled with stained glass; but only the three upper ones now contain the old panes. These are divided down the middle of each, and are filled with six lozenges and six circles, as shewn in the accompanying wood-cut. As the devices and mottoes or poetry are quaint and in accordance with the decorations of most of the houses of any note belonging to our forefathers, I shall here quote them as they follow one another, beginning on the dexter side. In the first is a lozenge-shaped pane, on which is a soldier painted in a buff jacket and hat with a plume of feathers; he has a sword, and holds in his hands a musket, with rest lying alongside the stock of the piece; and the motto, "Blow yo^r Panne", is on the field of the glass. Under this figure is a circular pane of plain glass, surrounded by a smaller circle of painted scroll-work and foliage, beneath which, on a square formed pane, are the following words:—

"this Round we laughe, we drink we eat,
es tells you that we want noe meate:
al sorrow is in good liquor drowonde
as Circle soth the cupps goe Round."

The form and arrangement of the others are of the same kind, and the objects are stained in colours of various hues; but the devices differ; the second lozenge having a soldier in a jerkin helmet and plume, with sword, &c., in the act of advancing or receiving the enemy's charge, with his pike brought to the level of the height of his breast. The words are "The third motion," under which, on a square pane as before noticed, is written:—

"Heere Mrs. Idle lays her sickle by
And listens to the Bagpipes mellodye
Shees like ten thousand more that lives and gaines
Cates drinks, and sleepes, but neuer can take paynes."

The third division has a soldier in the full military costume of the day—

with cuirass, plumed helmet, gloves, sash, sword, &c. He is standing with his left arm a-kimbo, whilst the right holds the pike erect, having one end rested on the ground. Inscription, " Order yo^r Pike," and underwritten :—

" Thou pretty wench thats plucking of a flower
Keepe close the flower of thy virginity.
Beware, for oathes and promises habe power
And woers many times will sweare and lye."

The fourth quarrel exhibits a gallant-looking musketeer, with his loose tunic and puffed shoulders, gartered breeches, and rosettes to his shoes, to the points of which are attached pieces of cord fastened to the garters in order to keep them from slipping off the knee—his broad linen collar, hat and feather seemingly very unfit for a man of hurts. He holds the musket and its then necessary accompaniment, the rest, in his hand : and the sentence is, " In the left hand carry the Musket with the Rest." Below are the following words :—

" Hoggs like to mizers loathsom are alibe,
But when death doth their noysom Lives depribe,
One getts a puddinge, tother getts a flitch,
Much like the goods of wretches that by riche."

The fifth part has a soldier attired in cuirass and sword, with hat and very large bunch of feathers. He is in the act of changing his position, accompanied by the words, " Recover Pike by Palming," and the following doggerel :—

" The Lad and Lass are both exceeding blithe
Bowne lyes the rabening Rake and shabeing Sithe
As amongst gallants lobe oft keeps a rackett
Within a leather Breech and Russett plackett."

From the sixth part the figures have been removed, but the poetry remains, and I well remember that some of the circles were filled with figures appropriately designed to illustrate the writing placed beneath them. These were taken away however, by some despoiler of the reliques of bye-gone days—most likely to be stuck up in some staircase window of his own, where they would be quite out of place, and illustrate nothing better than the bad taste of the man who removed them from their original site.

In a thin 4to. work printed in 1623, entitled " Instructions for Musters and Armes, and the use thereof; by order from the Lords of his Majesties

most Honorable Privy Counsayle," are some plates representing soldiers in exactly the same attitudes, costume and weapons, and having the same mottoes or orders written to them; so that we may reasonably imagine the window to have been glazed some years after the building was erected, as noticed over the outer gate.

In one of the lodging-rooms, up stairs, and which appears to have been approached through an arched doorway of stone work, with a fine old oak door having its iron hinges and handle and key-hole richly ornamented with floral work, is a curious chimney piece, the whole painted over with bars chevron-wise, alternately, blue, white, red and black, engrailed, over all seme, with roses, pinks, bees and snails, with arms in centre, two lions passant in pale, with crescent for distinction, the family coat of the Glegs; the frieze is painted alternately block and flute, with very rude cornice overhanging. This fire-place, I think, is unique in style of ornament. I hope before this paper goes to press to be enabled to find some record of the house, through the kindness of Mr. Black, the deputy-keeper of the Palatinate records, who is now busily engaged arranging the large mass of papers under his care, to whom we owe much for his valuable researches into the records of Cheshire, from which he gave us some interesting fragments at the meeting of the Archæological Association Congress held at Chester.

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

SESSION III. JUNE 5th, 1851. **No. 8.**

The Eighth and concluding Meeting of the Society for the Session was held at the Collegiate Institution,

P. R. M'QUIE, Esq., in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Joseph Stubbs, Mayor of Warrington.
John F. Marsh, Fairfield, Warrington.
William Dalrymple, Northumberland Terrace, Everton.

The following Presents to the Society were announced :—

From John Caton Thomson, Esq.,	Memoirs of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, 2 vols., 4to.
	The Progress of the Reformation, an oblong folio volume, containing 72 plates.
From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,	Anglo-Saxon Legend of St. Andrew and St. Veronica, published under their superintendence.
From the Architectural and Archæological Society of Liverpool,	Their Annual Report from the Council, May, 1851.
From the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D.,	His Essay on the Philosophy of Geographical Names.
From Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.,	A Print and several Wood-cuts representing Costume, to illustrate his own paper.

The following Articles were exhibited :—

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., of London,	Three beautiful specimens of gold ring money, of different sizes, which were found near Belfast, pressed one above the other on the point of a bronze spear; and a small specimen of gold ring money, found near Athlone, in Ireland.
	A silver decade ring, found near Dublin.
	A stone celt, 13 inches long by 3¼ wide, and weighing 3lbs. 13½oz., found in 1845, by Mr. Chas. Royle,* at Flixton, Lancashire, whilst getting gravel on a site supposed to have been an old bed of the Mersey.
	The blade of a bronze sword, 14 inches long, found during the recent alterations in the river Shannon. There is a raised rib down the middle of each side, and the rivets by which it was attached to the handle still remain: one side is a little curved, and the other quite straight.
	A bronze skean, 16¾ inches long, found in Galway; the form is the usual pointed one, with a broad, flattened end to receive the handle.
	Lithograph of three bronze celts, found in 1849, at the depth of five feet, in a sand and warp soil, near Ulleskelf, in Yorkshire: one of them of unique or very rare form.
By Jos. Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.,	A bronze cup, richly ornamented on the outside, found at Ribchester, in Lancashire.
	Ten Roman coins, and a Roman stamp or seal, with a double legend, found at the same time and place.
By the Rev. W. Thornber, B.A., of Blackpool,	The following, in illustration of his paper of this evening, and of that read on the 6th of February :—A small celt, found near the "Danes' Pad," on the north of the Wyre; which was part of the contents of

* An explanatory letter from Mr. Royle, dated 28th July, states that the site was near the ancient mansion of Shaw Hall, formerly inhabited by Colonel Peter Egerton.

a curious oak box, the portions of which were fastened by oak pins. [The other articles were arrow heads, celts, brass tubes, &c.] A large and heavy-looped palstab, found on the south side of the river Wyre. From the Mill-hill, near Kirkham, a curious amulet of light green glass, known as a "Druid's Egg," with a funicular ornament of white and blue surrounding it, and a securis, or axe, the blade of which was not placed opposite the central line of the handle or the eye, but completely to one side. From the Roman Agger, near Weeton, in the Fylde district, a large and elegant palstab, a ribbed amulet of coarse blue earthenware, a horse shoe, supposed to have belonged to a native British galloway, and a portion of an urn, with curious indentations on the outer side; the urn has been made of coarse baked clay, black on the inner side, and yellow on the outer. From Staining, in the same district, a small amulet of soft whitish marble, striated with green, and bearing considerable resemblance to a small onion. From the junction of the Wyre with the Lancaster Railway, a dagger, with a blade less than four inches long, and a heavy brass handle, supposed to have been a Scotchman's, used in the disturbances of the 17th century.

Drawings, illustrative of his paper, representing articles that had been found near Pilling Moss, north of the Wyre. These included a "fibula," a spear-head, a wine strainer, a drinking cup, a bronze battle axe, of peculiar shape, an ancient stirrup, and a plan of the immense wooden structure called the "Dane's Pad."

By Dr. Hume,

A curious knife, with carved bone handle, ornamented with a monkey, found on the coast near Leasowe.

Ten varieties of horse shoes, used in Italy in the beginning of the sixteenth century, as figured by Aubrey in his "Histoire Pittoresque de l'Equitation."

In the miscellaneous information, a letter was read from Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, mentioning the fact that some curious documents had recently been found, in the thatched roof of an old farm-house, in the course of demolition, at Houghton Green, about two miles from Warrington. He says :—

"They consist chiefly of original warrants or precepts issued in the spring of 1643 by the Earl of Derby, Lord Molyneux, Colonel Norris, and others, for the supply of men, provisions, forage, and money, to the royalist garrison, at Warrington, at that time threatened by the parliamentarians. I have not leisure to copy the whole; but, as they are for the present deposited with me, I shall take copies, and lay them before your Society at the next meeting, which I presume will be in October next. In the meantime, I send you one to read to-morrow evening, if an opportunity offer.

"I may premise that the parliamentarians had been driven from before Warrington, in the April of 1643, by the Earl of Derby; but, having received large reinforcements, they again attacked it on the 21st of May, and obliged the garrison to surrender upon honourable terms on the 27th of the same month. The precept which I send was issued by Colonel Edward Norris, the governor of the town, on the 14th of that month, seven days before the town was actually beset. The document acquires additional interest from the endorsements on the back testifying that no time was lost by the constables of the several townships in its transmission from one to another.

"It is my opinion that the house in which they were discovered was formerly the residence of the constable of Houghton, and that the varying occupation of the district by parliamentarians and royalists led to his wary concealment in the thatch, of these evidences of his sympathy with the royalist cause."

"'To the Constables of Hulme and Winwick, and all other the Constables within the p'ishe of Winwick and all others greeting.

"'Whereas very lately I directed my warrants to severall parts neare adjacent for the calling-in of all the able men unto our ayd, but finding that the enemy was retraited was very willing that the said men should return to their own houses; but nowe so it is that this day I have received intelligence by 3 severall messengers that the enemy intends very speedily to assault us. These are therefore in his ma'tys name straitly to charg and comand you that forthwith upon receit hereof you give notice and warning to all the able men within your several constableries that are within the age of 60 yeares and above the age of 16 yeares that they com unto this town of Warrington with their best arms and p'vision of meate for 4 dayes by 9 of the clocke * * * binge the 15th daye of this instant May, wherein you are not to faile as you honor his ma'tys service and will answer the contrarie at your utmost p'ille. Given under my hand this 14th day of May 1643.

"'E. Norris.

"'Se you send me an accompt of this warrant.'"

The following endorsements occur on the back of the warrant:—

"'Seene & p'used by the Constables of Winwick and Hulme.
"'Seene & p'used by the Constable of Newton.
"'Seene & p'used by the Constable of haidoke (Haydock) and speedylie sent away to ye Constables of Golborne.
"'Seene & p'used by the Constable of Goulborne the 15th day between 3 & 4 of the clocke in the afternoone, and speedylie sent unto Loton.
"'Seene by the Constable of Lawton about 7 of ye clocke ye 15 day and sent to Kenion w'th speede.
"'Seene & p'used by the Constable of Kenyon.
"'Seene & p'used by the Constable of Culcith and sent away.
"'Seene & p'used by the Constables of Southworth in Croft, and Houghton in Arbury, and sent away with al speed.'"

The following Papers were read:—

I.—An Account of the Roman and British Remains, found North and East of the River Wyre.

By the Rev. Wm. Thornber, B.A., Blackpool.

In my last paper I traversed the agger that runs through the Fylde, from the Sistantian capital of Kirkham during the sway of the Romans in Britain, to the celebrated Lancastrian harbour of Wyre. That journey was comparatively easy; but the one I am about to undertake abounds with many difficulties, as I pioneer a remote section of our island, hitherto untrod by the feet of antiquarians; nay, even tabooed by learned writers from any ancient research. A good guide, however, has offered his services in my friend, the Rev. Mr. Banister of Pilling, by whose aid I flatter myself that I shall be enabled to open a path for my successors.

I will pause a few minutes on the site of Fleetwood, before I cross the river, in order to inspect its geological features. It is a flat tongue of land, between the sea and the Wyre, unrelieved except by sand hills as far as Bourne Hall, the commencement of the Bergerode of Speed, &c. The surface of the ground is covered with deep-blown sand and gravel, beneath which lies a peaty, bluish silt, the ooze of the river, whereon you may perceive in some places, especially about Fany, the marks of the plough, the ruts of wheels and the roots of lacustral plants; whilst imbedded in it are frequently found the horns of the Cervus Elaphus and beds of shells identical with those on the shore. The ground occupied by the merchants of the Portus was not here: at the Roman period, except on the sea-bank on

the west where the coins of Severus, &c. were discovered, and the margin of the Wyre,—the site of the new town of Fleetwood was quaggy meols, which appellation was retained in Kilgri*mol*, the ancient name of Layton Hawes, and in the name of *Mil*grim holes, given at this day to little quicksands on the shore. The hill of Bourne was the site of one of the Burgi, at the Roman period almost insulated, the river being on one side, the sea on the other, and on the south a deep morass stretching between it and Stona. History does not inform us when the trade of this port began to dwindle away; but the departure of the Romans, and the frequent landing of the Danes in the harbour, must have inflicted a fatal blow; though nevertheless, during the Saxon heptarchy, the country around was very populous, as may be gathered from the villare of the Doomsday Survey—for instance, Rossal, Bourne, Thornton, Poulton, Singleton,* Hambleton, Stalmine, the three Rawcliffs and Presal. The Romans had three trajecti over the Wyre—at Aldwath or Shard; the Ford of Bulk or the Higher Ford; and the Lower, that ran from Mine End, i.e. the stony, from the west, along by the old perch at the mouth of the river, and so past Knot End to the great hill of Presal, the Pre-*sonde* of Williams' survey. I have heard Capt. Parkinson describe it as being formed of large blocks of red sandstone, brought either from Cockersand Abbey or Furness. No passenger could have crossed it without being struck with admiration, on the first view of Presal's abrupt eminence. The vulgar tell us, that the fairy queen had once a residence within its bowels, from whence she issued with her train through the gates of her palace—an everflowing well of clear water. From its summit the whole country may be seen. Lancaster, the commencement of the Furness agger, and "the green flame edged with smoke," might have held communication with the beacons of Warton Cragg and Ingleborough. I visited this hill with Mr. Just, who was struck with its commanding appearance, and protested, that around its top he could trace signs of a bank and fosse. Nor do I differ from him; but all doubt might have been done away if the coins found at the base of the hill had not been lost, or the date or intention of the artificial mound, near Mound House, which lies between Presal height and the mouth of the river, had been known. I fear that you will begin to suppose that I have no positive

* The late Mr. Smith told me a kind of curiass was found, and used by children as a dung cart.

facts of Roman possession; but I venture to record the tradition of the existence of a castle in Churchfield in the neighbourhood, the stones of which some dæmon carried away for the erection of Lancaster castle. Moreover, the twelve acres of land called Aglebey's were freed from all impost by an ancient king; but I fancy this to refer to Gilbert de Lancaster, seneschal of that castle, who also had a fortress here at Mourchills, temp. John, which was destroyed by that monarch on account of his feudatory having joined the rebel barons.

To make myself intelligible during our further progress, I feel it necessary to give a brief description of Pilling Moss, which comprises under that name, the mosses of Stalmine, Rawcliffe, &c. How was it formed, and when was its forest destroyed? The numerous subterranean trees of huge oaks, yew and alder prostrated below the moss, especially on the south side, prove that a vast forest once existed here, as well as the present names of places, *Black-hill, Wood's-hill, Dunock, Alder-field, Hurst, &c.; but the cause of its destruction is not so clear; although we may pronounce the axe, fire, and the frequent surges of water to have been its chief enemies. A writer on Scottish mosses—Fleming I think—mentions Pilling Moss amongst those destroyed by the Romans—as Hatfield was by Ostorius—on account of their recesses affording refuge to the Britons. Severus, we know, on his march against the Caledonians, lost fifty thousand men in prosecuting such operations; and who can venture to say that he did not march along the Sistantian agger and over the Wyre to the Furness causeway, when he recollects that that emperor's coins and those of his son Caracalla predominate among those found by the brick makers of Fleetwood. That Pilling forest was burnt down, the charred wood and stumps of trees every day attest, and the turf-cutter can prove. A portion of it, however, was destroyed by the action of floods. This may be accounted for in two ways. The higher stream of the Wyre, beyond the Shard, probably burst through the low lands adjacent to Rawcliffe Hall, into the valley of the present Pilling Moss: yea, Mr. ffrance of that place declares, that at comparatively little cost, he could again direct the river by that channel into the Broadfleet, which empties itself into the sea at Pilling parsonage. But the water of

* These conical hills, with others, appear to have been connected by a pathway beneath the peat, constructed with alder poles. Such paths are not uncommon, as at Natsby, &c.

the sea before the destruction of the forest was also poured into it from the north. Strange to say this tract of country is bisected by a circuitous and at times deeply indented ancient sea beach, now no less—of course it varies —than five miles from the present low water mark, trending from between Presal and Stalmine at the base of some conical, isolated hills, occurring at intervals. There is no doubt of such a sea beach—its vast bed of gravel, intermixed with shells, has for years supplied the highways with materials— the silt to the north of the beach is different from the clay on the south of it; whilst nothing but underwood, or small trees, not charred, is found within the former, and beneath its silt a varying stratum of cockle shells. The other abounds with oaks, but discloses no similar fossil remains. The beach runs from Presal and Stalmine by, or not far from, the base of Bone-hill, Cogie-hill, &c. Most of them possess fine springs of water and some afford verdant pasturage. Now between these hills, the sea made frequent, yet quiet irruptions into the forest; so that the ground being rendered morassy, the trees fell, and choking up all outlets, the formation of that moss commenced, which, for its boundless extent, has given rise to the proverb—"God's grace and Pilling moss is endless!" But this generation may live to see the falsity of the saying—

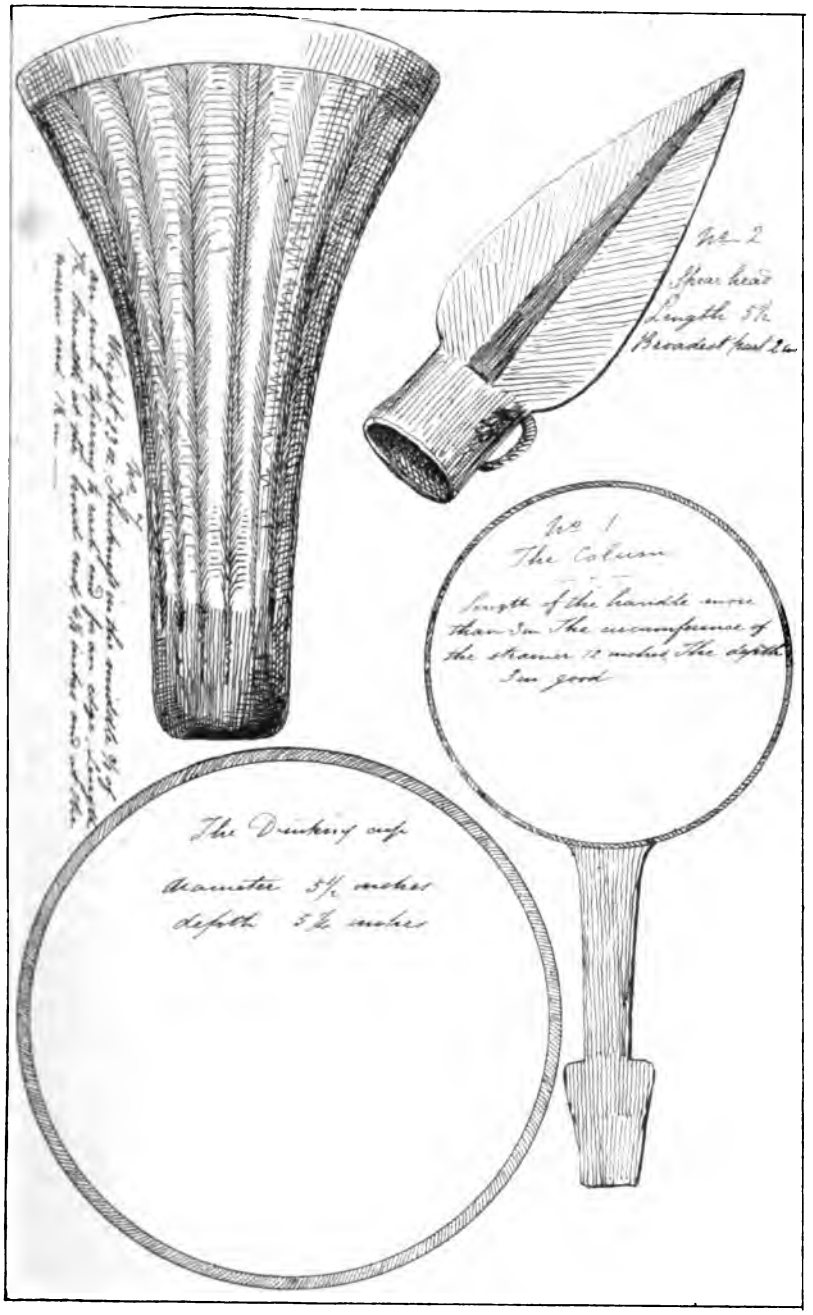
"Once a wood, then a sea
Now a moss and e'er will be."

Mr. ffrance of Rawcliffe Hall has already effected wonders, and a colony of black-headed gulls have made a many acred "oasis in deserto" by sowing the seeds of the Holcus lanatus, Poa pratensis, Anthoxanthum odoratum, Epilobium montanum, Ranunculus, Rumex acetosa, Lychnis flosculi, Ruscus and Urtica, in place of the Agrostis and Erica. "Longum est iter per præcepta, breve et efficax per exemplum."

At length I have arrived at my proposed object. It is along and adjacent to this sea beach, that I meet with many traces of the Romanized Britons, and by this also, I believe that a connection by land was held from the Wyre with Lancaster. Look at the verdant hill of Stalmine. Embosomed in wood, the Britons erected their huts upon it, feeding their herds on the low lands in summer and the high in winter; for Gildas says—"Britain abounds with hills that are very convenient for the alternate pasture of herds." And they were merchants also, warriors horsemen and operatives, their chief being not unused to the luxuries of life. A few years ago, in

Stalmine moss, beneath the peat, was discovered a Colum or wine strainer, (No. 1.) The metal of which it is made is not brass, but a kind of pewter, or perhaps mimic silver of much lead and tin, incorporated with brass, which metal was known to the Romanized Britons. The circumference of the bowl is sixteen inches and its depth upwards of two, the bottom being rounded. I cannot describe the beautiful figures in which the holes are arranged at the sides and bottom; they are exquisite. The length of the handle is a little more than three inches. It is altogether a fine piece of workmanship, little damaged, considering its thinness and age. What a multitude of reflections does this wine strainer create? Nero invented an improved one. Wine was introduced by the Romans, though even to the days of Lucullus, they very seldom were able to regale themselves with the genuine article. Was real wine strained through it, or perry, cyder, metheglin or some adulterated mixture, for such was early in use? Did some Roman-British chief, or rich merchant reside here, or was the colum lost as it was being conveyed to Lancaster?

Here too in Stalmine moss was found a wooden drinking bowl, hooped with two brass bands and having two handles. Its circumference is 16½ inches and depth 5½. Was it a wine cup, the fellow of the colum, or did the ambacton of the chief drink curmi out of it? The spear head also of a warrior (No. 2,) was discovered, somewhere in this neighbourhood. The length of it is 5½ and the broadest part 2 inches. Beneath the loop is a hole for the purpose of fastening the shaft, when inserted in the socket. These remains are in the possession of C. Bourne, Esq., of Stalmine But the greatest treasure disclosed here was taken out of a ditch by Richard Fairclough. It consists of an anvil, scissors or shears and many thin plates of brass. And the greatest curiosity is a brass *stirrup*, of good workmanship. I cannot describe it so well as an engraving; so I send you a full-sized sketch of it. (Nos. 3 and 4.) Is it Roman? In British coins the horsemen are without a saddle; but the Romans introduced it, as appears from its latin name, sedile. It seems from Major's note in Adams' Roman Antiquities, that the conquerors of the world used it not at an early period of their power, for he says—"The Equites, though of superior grade, were but of little military importance: without saddles and stirrups, as a fulcrum for reaction, the Roman horse soldiers could never exert half their force. They frequently dismounted in order to take a more decided part in the engagement." But is it Roman?


No 2
Spear head
Length 5 In
Broadest part 2 In
No 1
The Column
Length of the handle more
than 3 In The circumference of
the Manner it worked The depth
Ten good
The Drinking cup
Diameter 3 1/2 inches
depth 3 In inches

I must proceed, however, to give an account of other antiquities; though I can adduce no positive proofs of earlier occupation of the remote section of our country, than by Romanized Britons, unless the glass-adders, mentioned in my last paper, be accepted as one, which I fear cannot; for the conquerors Romanized the Britons and the conquered Britonized the Romans, at least as far as regarded their religion and superstitions, thus demonstrating the unsatisfying theology of both people. We crossed the Wyre by the Lower Ford; but the Higher one, as well as Aldwath, is nearer to a most singular pathway—of which I send you a section, (No. 5)—that crossed the mosses of Rawcliffe, Stalmine and Pilling to the ancient sea beach, near Scronka. It is known by the name of Danes' Pad and not by that of Kate's, as Mr. Banister's paper before the Archæological Society states, and as I myself was formerly led to suppose. There are two paths, and I have the best authority for saying so in Mr. Taylor, who was 105 years old, and Mr. Clarkson, who substantiates the fact by a circumstance that occurred 70 years ago. Tradition tells us that Kate's pad, a mere ridge of turf, a township boundary, was made by two ladies in order to obtain snuff with expedition from Lancaster; of the other, both tradition and history are silent. The Dane's Pad is formed of riven oak trees, laid upon sleepers, through which by square holes the planks are staked into the ground. Sometimes it is composed of one huge tree, at others of two or three, and its width varies from 20 inches to something more. It has been traced by Mr. Banister and myself for a mile and a-half into the interior of the moss; but to pass over this sullen desolation it will have to run about the same distance farther. Who were its architects? Some will have it, that it was made either by the monks of Cocker-sand Abbey or St. Mary's, Lancaster. But for what purpose could the former make it? They had no property beyond it, their Grange of Pilling lying on the east side of it. The monks of St. Mary's have a better claim. In 1300 we read, that a quarrel about the right of way was adjusted between the monks of St. Mary's, and Sir Adam de Banister, when permission was granted by the Baron, for their wains, &c., to pass through his lands in Singleton by Aldwath, and through Thornton by the Ford of Bulk. Neither wains nor horses could ever traverse Danes' Pad—the thing is utterly impossible. We have moreover authority to affirm that the monks effected such works. Egelwick, abbot of Croyland, made for the ease of travellers, as saith

Ingulphus, through the midst of a vast forest and of most deep fens, a causeway of wood and sand after his own name, called Elerick road, which at this day is not to be seen. But these arguments satisfy neither Dr. Johnson the antiquarian of Lancaster nor myself. And a visit to the spot a few days ago with Mr. Banister and that gentleman, strengthened my former opinion of its age. Such a road as the Danes' Pad, we are told by the Rev. Mr. Tait, ran across the moss of Kilcardine, and he mentions facts to prove that there is no doubt of its Roman origin. Look at the solid deposit of peat, which lies upon the Danes' pad to upwards of two yards. Consider the number of vast oaks that would be required to furnish sleepers, piles and planks to bridge over three miles. Where would the monks get such a supply, and how immense the labour to have dug them out of the impassable morass? That vast deposit of peat, too, must have been formed in comparatively recent times, if that path was the work of churchmen. No—that pad, fairly scooped with traffic, was made through the solitude of a dense, but swampy forest, or immediately after its destruction, whilst the trees were exposed. It lies on a peaty substance, a mere trifle above the stumps of trees adjoining it, and which have been purposely cut down. But the Roman-British remains in Stalmine moss, which it bisects, must satisfy us as to its origin, unless we be very sceptical indeed. In its very line was discovered the instrument numbered 6. It is of steel or iron, a metal then dearer than brass, hooked at each end, which is pointed and the middle of it is ornamented, as you perceive, on each side of a smooth square, through which is a hole. Its length is 1¼ inch. Is it a fibula, an improvement on the spina of the Germans?* At the supposed terminus of this pad is a field completely full of holes, called by Mr. Thompson, the owner, Penny holes, because the labourers, he says, had a penny a piece for the making of them, hundreds of years ago, to cultivate the moss with their clay. There are those who venture to say, that they were used like the penpits of Somersetshire near Wincanton, for places of refuge by the Britons; but this is an antiquarian guess. Following the course of the beach under and about Bone-hill we meet with many remains on the ancient shore, all buried in the silt. But I will particularise two arrow heads and another spear that lay not far distant from a dozen, of

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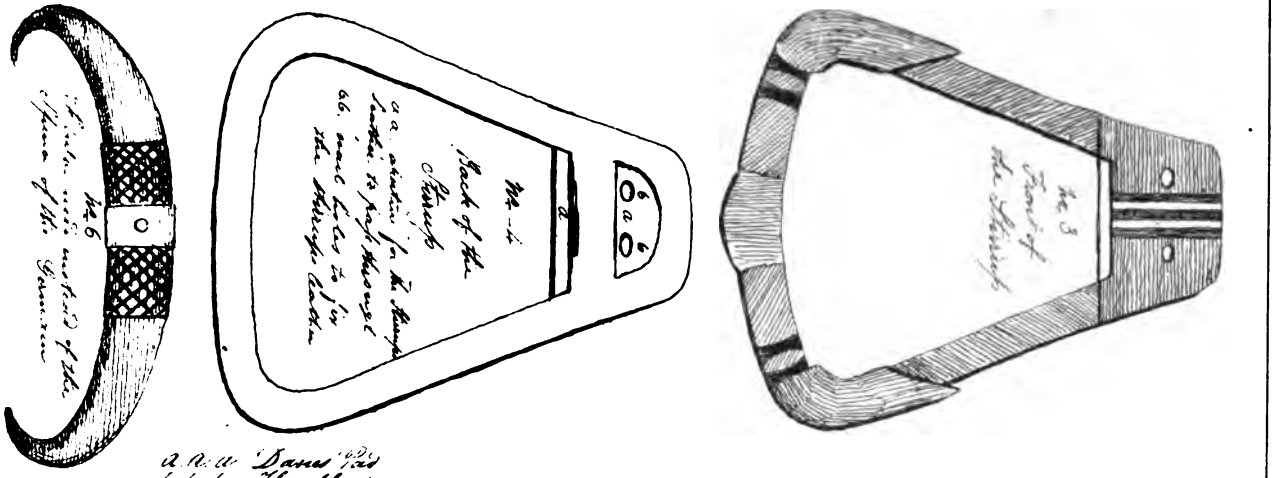
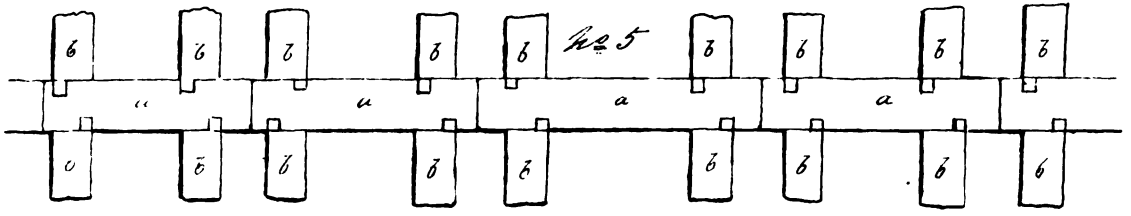
* It resembles more the central portion of a Danish "Ring for the hair." H.



a. a. a. Dams
b. b. b. The Sleepers
□ ◇ ◇. The square holes through the planks by which they are staked at alternate corners



what may be called shafts, which taper to a point—I call them shafts, because they had been worked by a tool. Here too was discovered the battle axe (No. 7), which is well worthy of note for its beauty and peculiarity of shape. It is of pale brass, mixed with much lead or tin, and flat. It weighs 23 oz., and is in length 7¼ inches; whilst at the one end the breadth of it is 4¼ inches the other is only 1¼. The thickest part is ⅝ of an inch in the middle; but it tapers to sharpness at both ends. Mr. Planché gives a print of a similar one, with the exception of its not being partially fluted as Mr. Banister's is. He calls it an Irish battle axe, and Sir Walter Scott says, that it was used with a handle grasping it about the middle. Might it not have been made for the purpose of hollowing boats?

Here also in the neighbourhood of the ancient sea beach, I flatter myself that I have discovered the foundations or rather the floor of a line of British hovels. At the bottom of the peat and below the blue silt many feet deep, some labourers met with a regular pavement of stones of some extent; for they told me that they found it at different places, but always in the same line and running in a direction with the beach. They of course called it a Danes' pad—the solution of every mystery—but Mr. Whitaker mentions a similar kind of pavement from 30 to 40 feet in Manchester, and ascribes to it the same use as I have done to the one on Pilling moss. Had the Romanized-Britons a residence here on this solitary spot, which was flanked by the gloom of the forest and fronted by the quietly shrinking water of the sea? If so, I will call them hunters; for not far distant Mr. Banister discovered the produce of the chase. In the very same deposit with the pavement, and on the deep stratum of cockle shells, which we meet at intervals all over this old domain of the sea, he disclosed a great collection of the bones and horns—some of which were affixed to the head—of the rein-deer, all huddled together, as if thrown aside after the flesh had been devoured. Mr. Bannister, however, asks—were not these horns cast together by the tidal waters, as single ones are throughout Thornton Marsh and many other low tracts in the country?

But we must onwards to Crimbles, a town mentioned in the Doomsday survey. Here also at Billy Johnson's—Cogie hill—Winmarly, was dug up in a field an oak box, fastened together with pins of the same wood, out of which was taken a great collection of celts, arrow heads, and some most singular brass tubes. The small celt I sent to Dr. Hume was one of the

number. These reliques are in the possession of John Wilson Patten, Esq., M.P.

By a more careful research many more antiquities might be discovered, and will be; for curiosity is now excited, so that the brass Palstab, that was formerly taken to the blacksmith and sold for old metal, will henceforth be preserved for the inspection of antiquarians: indeed, already a fictitious and superstitious value is put upon it. And the more Pilling moss is cultivated, the more shall we be enabled to prove that there was a dense population about the Harbour of Lancaster, and that Palgrave was right in asserting, that such was the case from Strathclyde to the north bank of the Ribble. Moreover, if there be any doubts now, that a communication was held with Wyre and Lancaster by the Danes' Pad, along the ancient sea beach to Crimbles, and thence to the Roman agger near Ashton park corner, where the mythic Leo and Virgo were discovered in 1794, and a milliare in 1811, and with the oval encampment at Burrow—these doubts will be dissipated by a closer personal inspection. In the meantime, let none deny without such observation, the possibility of the retreat of the tide from so great a domain. Such things are well attested, and if the Lune, as is well known, has shrunk northward towards Cocker-sand Abbey to the distance of nearly a mile in 70 years, why should we doubt, that during or previous to the time of the Romans it ran near the beach under the base of Bone-hill, &c., that skirted the forest of Pilling—I call it by the modern name, though the domain and village of Pilling had then no existence, except perchance as quaggy meols and inhospitable sands?

But discover we nothing in this remote section of our island that speaks of the habits of its ancient occupiers? At the bottom of the peat in the vicinity of the Danes' Pad was found a wooden triangle, much charred, and somewhat similar to those used by gypsies. It was standing upright, just as it had been left. Here we learn that its owners were wont to cook their provisions under the open arch of heaven, in the vicinity of their dwellings, under the shade of their oaks; still retaining their primitive habits, or perchance we see the resting-place of the hunters of the red deer, &c., though many of the bones we discover were washed down by the floods of the Lune and the Wyre from the mountainous ridge that separated the Sistantii from the Brigantes. We gather too from the cultivation of flax—bunches of which are met with in the peat—that the inhabitants of the

forest and hills, which bisect it, were no longer clothed in skins, but in robes of linen fastened to their persons by such a fibula as we have named. Nor trod they the ground unshod; the sandal of untanned skin, taken from the adjoining moss of St. Michael's, proves that their feet were protected by mocassins, similar to those worn by the Indians. We may fancy also that we hear the echo of the stroke on the anvil ring through the forest; whilst the fires of the saltmakers shoot forth their bright flames from beneath pans of brass, which, being filled with saline particles that cake the shore in summer, and beaten out of one solid lump,—resemble those found in the moss near Blackpool. That salt will season the bread, which is preparing in yonder quern, the fac-simile of the one taken out of the moss of Marton by Dr. Moore. But let us wander to some creek and unmoor a skin coracle, and launch into the beautiful bay of the Wyre. How frail is its structure, and how exactly the same with those fished out of Marton Mere: and this twisted rope of rushes might have been a portion of the cable which moored them to the shore. I have seen portions of such imbedded in the peat. The business of the port is an every-day scene; but I could linger for ever to admire those galleys—to watch the landing of yonder legions, and to pity the slaves driven along the Danes' pad to the place of embarkation. And those horsemen and warriors, how splendid they look as the bright celt glitters in the thong which suspends it from the Briton's shoulder, and whilst he clashes his spear against his shield. But meet we with no traces of their religion and superstition? In those fire broken stones we see signs of the Beltain, the counterpart of our Teanla fires. Most probably on these cairns the natives worshipped the sun and moon, perhaps not so magnificently as they were honoured at the Roman emporium of Ribchester, under the personification of Minerva Belisama, but as ardently.

The horn is sounding from Presal-hill and the sentinel of the mound is striking his shield, so let me detain you no longer except to say that I fancy I have proved, what I undertook. I have attempted to refute no arguments of those antiquarians who have placed the Harbour of Lancaster any where else, except on the Wyre: neither have I tried to shew, how that position agrees with the site of Ptolemy's Sistantian Harbour. I have been satisfied with stating facts, on which I ground my claim for fixing it at Bergerode. There is no rival to compete for the honour with it, save Kirkham, which

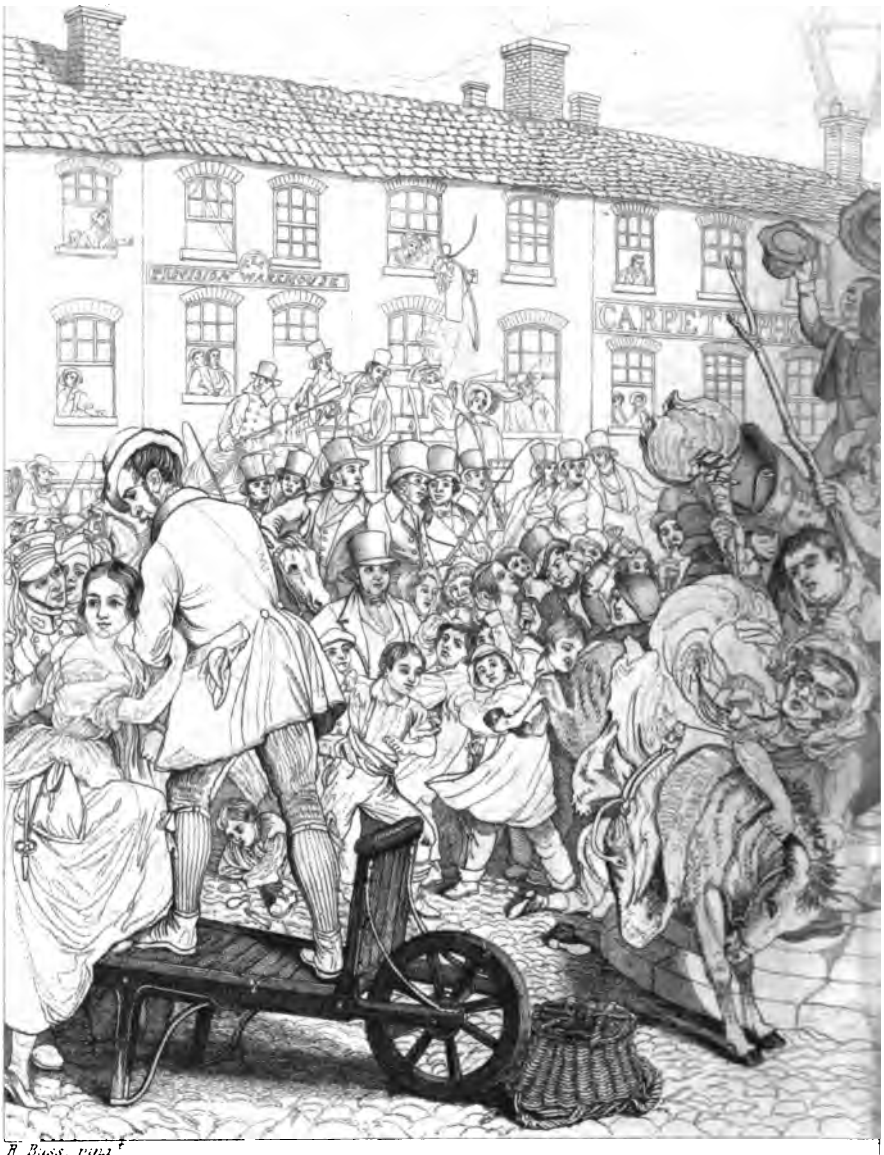
town, though it have no agger to the Neb of the Naze, yet perchance may have been approached by the channel of the brook Dow; and Kirkham, it must be allowed, is the exact distance of Richard of Cirencester's 23 miles from Rerigonium; but either at Kirkham or on the Wyre we may safely infer from the many remains at both places and throughout the Fylde, that the Romanized Britons were the principal occupiers of Mill-hill station at the former, as well as Pilling forest and the neighbouring heights of the latter.

II.—Account of the Ancient Custom of Electing a Mock Mayor in Newcastle-under-Lyne.

By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.

Some of the old customs of our forefathers are interesting to us, as affording curious illustrations of their habits, manners, and costume. In the one now before us, we have probably a remnant of such scenes as were enacted near 300 years ago, and a proof of their unconquerable determination to assert their rights during a long series of years, when the people had only the semblance of justice, and "might" often "overcame right."

In the early part of the reign of Henry the Second, the King granted a Charter (or rather confirmed a much earlier one) of Incorporation to the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, which was held as a form for subsequent Charters granted to various towns, amongst which is the town of Preston in Lancashire, where the Burghers are allowed "the same liberties and free customs which I have given and granted to my Burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme." On the 18th of May, 1590, Queen Elizabeth, in the 32nd year of her reign, granted the first governing Charter to the town, with power of hanging and gibbeting, and independence of the county court; and along with it was a confirmation of the right of the "Burgesses" to elect a Mayor; but this privilege was shortly afterwards usurped by the members of the Corporation, and confined to their own body. By this means the Burgesses were deprived of the power of exercising their chartered rights; and finding their attempts to recover their privileges ineffectual, they determined to cast an odium upon the ceremony of election, yet in some measure to retain the semblance of their rights, *by electing a "Mock Mayor."*



R. Bass, pinx.t

NEWCAS

J. W. Cook. sculp.

LYNE.

At this ceremony every act was a burlesque on the corporate election; it took place in the following manner. After the election and proclamation of the Mayor had taken place at the Town-hall, by the self-elected "Alderman" and "Free Burgesses," and they and their friends had retired, the Burgesses assembled at the Market-cross, and having proclaimed that the functions of the late Mayor had ceased, they set about electing a new one, with all the form and fashion of legal instrumentality. The new Mayor having been formally proposed, was duly elected by acclamation, in which deliberation and decision none but Burgesses were allowed to participate. Then followed a eulogy on their late (popular) Mayor, stating the superlative excellencies of his demeanour, charity, and forbearance, contrasting them with the arrogance and tyranny of the usurper; the whole finishing with a proclamation of the newly-elected chief magistrate.

This ceremony was annually gone through for a period of more than 230 years, and so annoying was it to the corporate dignities, that, in some instances, his "Mock" Worship was put into the stocks, as a punishment for the share he took in the burlesque scenes, which were often very cutting and exhibited a great deal of rancour and ill-feeling.

The accompanying print is a view of the ceremony as it took place on the 29th of October, 1833, after the Freemen had regained their privileges by a long and vexatious action at law against the self-elect Corporation. They thereby obtained a confirmation of their old Charter, and by a unanimous voice elected Samuel Mayer, Esq., of Thistleberry, to occupy the civic chair as the first of the new regime. So firmly had the custom become established, that although the people had a Mayor of their own choice, and consequently had no longer any occasion for the burlesque, still they loved the fun it created, and as usual assembled in solemn conclave around the Market-cross.

The following is a detailed account of the procedure, and an explanation of the accompanying print:—

"His Mock Worship was, with all the gravity befitting such an occasion, summoned, by the shrill sound of a Nanny-goat's horn, to appear before his brother-townsmen, and show cause why—always provided if—he had any objection to that most-devoutedly-to-be-desired and that most glorious and honourable elevation to the state of Mayor of the Borough, with all the

customary privileges of getting drunk, and fining himself publicly as an example, &c. Then, with great stateliness of step, and severe magisterial countenance, some well-beloved fellow-townsman was conducted to the top step, and there invested with those most becoming and costly robes of state, and that magic wand of office, so capable of doing justice, on the person whose head it knocked. After this, the Mayor elect introduced his better half, the Mayoress, to the admiring multitude, whilst she, on her own part, acknowledged the high honour conferred on her husband and herself.

"His Worship having commanded silence to be observed, the Town-crier, with the usual preliminaries of bell-ringing, &c., read the following proclamation :—

"O yes! O yes! O yes! This is to give Notice, First, that, by the advice of my Beadle, Mace-bearers, and Bum-bailiffs, I do hereby declare and proclaim that it shall be lawful for any man or set of men to put their hands into their breeches pockets—if there be their purses—and give and pay over to our exchequer any sum less than one hundred guineas, that shall seem to him or them fit, in order that we may drink his or their jolly good health in a quart of ale a-piece, for which we, as well on our part as on yours, promise him or them the distinguished honour of three huzzas, and may they live to do the like again next year.

"Secondly,—That we, after mature consideration, do allow any grocer—so he doeth it handsomely and pleasantly to his own feelings—the never-to-be-appreciated and valuable privilege (which must be thought a sufficient reward unto him and his children for ever,) of giving unto our revenue collectors, as much tobacco as he pleases; provided always, and it is hereby declared, that the amount must not exceed one hundred weight, but shall, at the same time, be enough to serve all the old women, as well as our worthy selves.

"Thirdly,—That Morgan, the pipe-maker, as his hereditary right, which we hereby acknowledge, may, if he likes, furnish us with saggar pipes to smoke the aforesaid tobacco with; in consideration whereof, we pledge our honour (here two squeaks from the Nanny-goat's horn,) that nobody else shall.

"Fourthly,—Our worthy Mayor giveth notice, and commandeth that all canting, backbiting, gin-drinking women be brought before him, that he

may punish them with the *Bridle*,* kept by him for that purpose; and he recommendeth his brother freemen to eat plenteously of roast-beef and plum-pudding, to gain which they must work more and drink less; and further, that all persons found drunk in the streets after this notice will be put in the stocks for one hour and thirteen minutes.

"Fifthly, and lastly,—We do hereby say, as commanded by our beloved wife, for the benefit of all young maidens, (after painful experience on our own part,) that it is better to be married than single; and in proof of our firm conviction of the same, we do thus publicly declare, sign, and seal this our proclamation with a kiss.

"A long flourish on the Nanny-goat's horn at the close of this performance, after which the procession formed, and, with her ladyship enthroned on a donkey, his Worship and the "goodlie companie" marched through the principal streets of the town, collecting the revenue for a jollification at the Market-cross in the evening.

"God save the King, the Mayor, and the People."

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHARACTERS.

His Worship is arrayed in a calf-skin tunic, fastened with a skewer round the neck, a black Staffordshire bull's hide for a gown, and a sheep-skin wig. In his dexter hand he holds his wand of office, and his civic chain and glass are represented by horses' manes and the prison-door key, the latter emblematical of the reign of Bailiffs.

His Worship is supported on the right hand by the Town-clerk, a person of very knowing look, and quite alive to the tricks of the law, as is fully indicated by the expressive position of his left thumb. Under his other arm he holds the Charter of the Borough, which the good Burgesses, fearing parchment would not be lasting enough, have inscribed on a hide of leather. On the left side is the Bum-bailiff, *alias* Head Constable, with his truncheon, about to dislodge a sweep, who in return is about to powder his Worship's wig with his soot bag. The two figures right and left

* A relic of ancient barbarity, made of a piece of iron, which went over the head and across the nose, to which was attached a small flat piece, that was put in the mouth and held down the tongue. It was also called a *Brank*. See Plate 5 in the Proceedings, Volume II.

are Mace-bearers, as seen by the splendid cabbages which they carry; and the Bellman, in his Phrygian cap and shaggy skin dress, is reading the proclamation.

In the foreground is the Lady Mayoress on her Egyptian palfrey, which some school lads, with their clouting ropes,* are ungallantly making to wince, with the hope of throwing the good lady from her seat. The old man on the left of the foreground is Billy Punkey, a well-known, harmless, idiotic character, who always made himself busy in keeping back the people from crowding too much into the august presence of his Worship. Near him stands a fine old woman in the picturesque costume of the district; and around are nearly all the members of the legal Corporation, and several gentlemen of the town, enjoying the burlesque.

The peculiarities of costume have so long been recognised as of historical interest, that I need not recite the many authorities in support of it; and I have merely added the few illustrations given here, as an adjunct to the scene we have in the "Mock Mayor," where are the whole of the hats and caps here represented. They were sketched from the actual ones worn in 1833. There will be easily traced the early Saxon hat, continued in the same form to the present day.

The use of hats is of a very early date, though I do not find any amongst the Egyptian sculptures; but the Greeks wore them, especially the Dorians, and probably they were used as early as the age of Homer. Also, with the Athenians we find them on the Elgin marbles. Although the Romans did not use them generally, yet at sacrifices and public festivals they wore a bonnet or cap; and this being only permitted to freemen, part of the ceremony of manumitting a slave consisted in putting one of these caps on his head. But on journeys, the Romans were accustomed to wear a hat called *petasus*, with a wide brim to screen them from the sun.

In the middle ages, the hat and cap were worn generally, and it is recorded that Charles VII. of France wore a hat of felt on his triumphant entry into Rouen in 1440; but hats of that material, and of the form given

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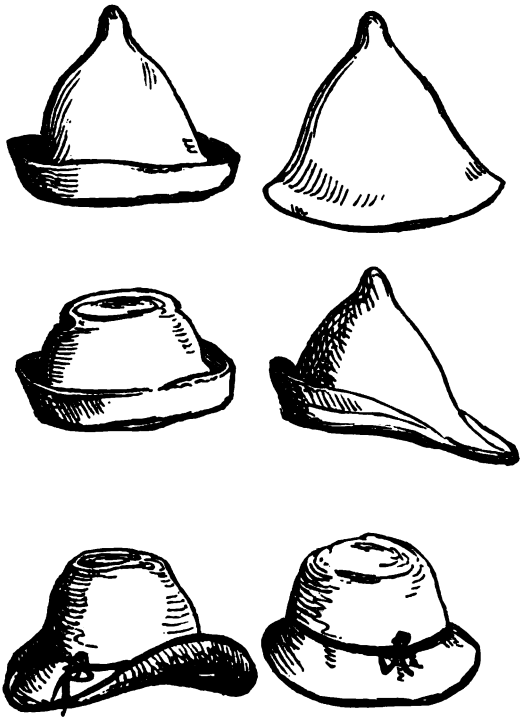
* In all the public schools of the town, on this day, the door was barred and locked against the teachers; and both boys and girls claimed an exemption from work, which is probably a remnant of the saturnalia of the Roman ages.

COSTUME OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

MARKET MAN AND WOMAN

At Newcastle under-Lyne.



COSTUME OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

CAPS WORN BY MEN AND WOMEN

At Newcastle-under-Lyne.

in these wood-cuts, were worn in England long before that time. And such continue the principal covering for the head amongst the poorer people, male and female, until the present day.

III.—Concluding Address.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D.,

Honorary Secretary.

At the close not only of a session, but of the first cycle of the society's operations, it is natural, and in some respects necessary, to say a few words respecting our progress thus far. At the close of a term of three years, the members and the public have had an opportunity of judging how far the original promises have been fulfilled. They have seen the nature and amount of the matter which has been produced for their edification. They have seen the number of the labourers; and they have thus some means of judging how far the removal of one or two individuals would interfere with the movements of the machine. They are also able to form some opinion respecting the subjects which yet require elucidation, and in reference to the permanent usefulness of the society.

There are some societies whose infancy is never seen, but which start into mature manhood. Long and careful preparations have been made; their first efforts, which appear to be put forth in one year, have really grown slowly through several; and a decline is inevitable as soon as the capital is exhausted, and they are reduced to the regular fruits of their sessional industry. Other societies, like our own, commence under some disadvantages. They are told that the line of inquiry is too narrow—that there are few who cultivate the subjects—that the material for investigation is not abundant—that it is impossible to interest a sufficient number in the pursuits. In our case, we had to make ourselves known gradually in two large and populous shires, and that is yet only partially done; we had to ascertain who were the best qualified to write on particular subjects, and to satisfy all that our efforts would be made in an earnest spirit and in good faith. The following analysis, which it has been necessary to complete hastily since entering the meeting, is interesting to contemplate.

The number of ordinary *Members* is at present 802, with 18 honorary members; most of the latter being gentlemen who are prominently connected with similar societies in various parts of the United Kingdom. The proportion of resident to non-resident members remains almost the same as before—about one-half being within the Liverpool post delivery, and the other half being scattered over the two counties. This is an unusually large number of non-resident members to be connected with a provincial society, or, indeed, with any one whose members are not usually designated by initial letters. During the present session, we have enrolled 16 ordinary members, of whom 7 are resident, and 9 are scattered over the country. It should not be forgotten that this is the first session in which the full entrance fee of £1 1s. has been charged; so that, even if the exciting topics of the autumn and the spring had not combined to draw attention from us, our candidates for admission would naturally have been fewer than usual. It is evident that, if we seek to enlist candidates for membership from our own town, the meetings must be increased in frequency or in attractions; if, on the contrary, we seek to secure those from a distance, we must endeavour to give even greater satisfaction, by the size and character of our annual volume. Both objects and both lines of duty are quite compatible. It may not be out of place to mention, that of the new members, five are the Chief Magistrates in their respective boroughs, and that two or three other mayors have rendered good service to the society during the present session.

The *Donations* to the society have embraced books, pamphlets, drawings, illustrative prints, antiquities, curiosities, and miscellaneous articles of a very varied character. They have included about 173 articles, from 29 separate individuals—of whom it is important to remark that nine are not members of the society. The volumes include the proceedings, transactions, and other publications of twelve learned societies of the United Kingdom, with all of which, as well as with others like them, we maintain fraternal relations. Some of the donations have been very valuable, especially those from the Royal Irish Academy, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The articles *Exhibited* at the meetings have also been very numerous, as they have embraced about 260 objects of the most varied character, from 17 individuals, of whom five are not members of the society. This is an interesting fact, and one which ought to have brought with it a due amount of

instruction. Yet, for my part, I have been pained, as well as gratified, at witnessing the number and variety of the articles exhibited. There is not time to dwell upon each minute object, to explain its nature and uses, or its relations to important subjects of inquiry. In the general business of a meeting, it is sometimes as much as we can do to record and enumerate correctly the articles which are suddenly produced, and hurriedly passed round among the gentlemen present. Would it not be well, therefore, to require in future that articles for exhibition be forwarded to the curator a day or two before the meeting at which they are expected to appear? There would thus be ample leisure to prepare detailed descriptions of them and drawings when necessary. One important consequence of this arrangement would be, that the instruction would not be confined to those present at the meeting: the descriptions and illustrations, being printed, would interest all members, non-resident as well as domestic. Would it not be well, in like manner, to occupy a miscellaneous evening occasionally with descriptions of the objects already in our possession? Many are of extreme interest, but their importance is in a great measure yet unknown. When our collection has been formally opened, the facilities for acquiring or imparting information will be greatly increased.

During the eight meetings of the present session no fewer than nineteen formal communications or *Papers* have been read, of which so many as six were by gentlemen totally unconnected with the society. This last is a fact of great importance, as the intellectual instruction of the society is not limited to the acquirements of its own members. In many societies of a similar kind, the instructions are confined to a few members of the council, while of the society at large the mind is not exercised. This is especially the case where public reputation or public confidence in a society is wanting.

By the decision of the council, the volume for this session will be issued complete. This will be a great convenience to those who would not be at the trouble to have it formally bound. It may be noticed incidentally, that the number of illustrations in it will make it not unworthy of the companionship of its predecessors; one of our officers, to whom we are under many obligations, contributing no fewer than ten or twelve plates for the illustration of his own portion of the letter-press.

On examining the *kind* of papers that have been read during the three sessions, it will be seen that they are very varied. Not only do they refer to different *eras* in our history, they refer to different *subjects*; and almost every topic noticed in our original prospectus has met with attention, some of them several times. But it is right to mention that this regular distribution of matter is the effect of *accident*, not of *design*. We have yet taken no pains to secure the representation of all our subjects, and to avoid the unpleasantness of redundancy on some and deficiency on others. Now, it appears to me that we ought to do this, otherwise our inquiries will have a tendency to act in only one or two directions, to the neglect of others. Indeed, this effect has already been produced. It has been assumed, not only by strangers, but by some of ourselves, that our inquiries are exclusively of an archæological or antiquarian character; and some gentlemen who would gladly have sought a connexion with us have kept aloof, from the supposed narrowness of our basis. Now it is important to correct an impression so erroneous. We embrace every subject in which the historian is supposed to take an interest—in short, every local subject which is worthy of a permanent record; and, therefore, many topics which are only remotely or not at all connected with archæology, are minutely related to us.

The original Prospectus enumerated eleven heads in the field of inquiry, which I will venture to group and classify by their numbers, thus:—

I. *Archæology.*
   1. Historic Documents.
   2. Antiquities.
   7. Church Registers.
   9. Military Antiquities.

II. *General Literature.*
   3. Genealogy and Biography.
   6. Costumes, Customs, and Traditions.
   10. Topographical Descriptions.

III. *Architecture.*
   4. Architecture and the Fine Arts, including certain details of topography, and ecclesiastical or domestic antiquities.

IV. *Science.*

5. Natural History.

V. *Miscellaneous.*

8. Trade, Commerce, and Inventions.

11. Parliamentary Papers.

Now, it so happens that all or most of these subjects are embraced by some of the other societies which exist in this town; one giving its attention mainly to architecture, and another to general literature, natural history, and miscellaneous subjects. As a natural consequence of the lines of inquiry coinciding, papers of the same kind are read at several societies, and papers of certain other kinds are read at none of them. It has even happened, on several occasions, that the same paper has been read at different societies. To remedy these and similar anomalies, a union of two or more societies has been suggested, on a plan which would concentrate and systematise the researches, both of the district, and of the town.

To show how this arrangement would be likely to work, I shall suppose a case. The Architectural and Archæological Society numbers about 120 members, and the Historic Society more than 300. If only these two united, there would be a large and respectable society with at least 400 Fellows. Among the varied acquirements of so large a number, many of them men of distinction, it would be easy to keep up a varied succession of papers, so as to occupy not *eight* evenings of a session, but *twenty-four*.

Again, the payment of the members of the Architectural Society is at present a guinea a year; and if we were to adopt the same charge for our resident members, there would be an income of more than £330 a year. One-third of this might be devoted to the publication and illustration of the Proceedings; one-third to the maintenance of the library and museum; and the remaining third to the working of the society, including rent, (if necessary), the printing and delivery of circulars, tea and coffee at meetings, and the salary of an assistant secretary. It is certain, however, that a large number of gentlemen, who do not feel that any of the present societies are sufficiently deserving of their attention, would gladly join, so that the standing number of Fellows would probably never fall below 500. I have supposed that a distinction would be made between the resident and the

non-resident; for it is evident that those who only receive the proceedings, and who rarely visit town, should not be charged the same annual subscription as those who can attend the meetings, and make a ready use of the library and museum.

The collection of the society is not yet laid out, but the council have not been negligent on that subject. Our honorary Curator, having lately removed his valuable private collection, is appropriating a portion of his own house to the use of the society; and in the course of a week or two it will be available to the members. No situation could be more central, or in general more suitable; and it is only necessary to add that in this new kindness which Mr. Mayer renders to the society, the suggestion and the accomplishment are exclusively his own. The appropriation of a fixed sum annually to this department, in addition to the donations received from time to time, would soon give us a collection of great interest, and one that would be eminently instructive. To the resident members the advantages of the suggested extension would be great, in the increase of meetings, the arrangement of subjects, and the certainty of return in publications, as well as in the increased accommodation at the meetings, and the facilities for inquiry at other times. To the country members there would be an increase of benefits, without any increase of subscription. To all, there would be an elevated literary tone, which would soon be felt and acknowledged in a town where it is not less needed than in any similar spot of the British Isles.

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Page 66, line 24. *Dele* "part of it."

Page 167, line 5. Rev. R. Bannister was not one of the Parish Curates, but came from Upholland.

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Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston.
James, Rev. David, M.A., F.S.A., 20, Great Mersey Street, Kirkdale.
*James, Paul Moon, Summer Ville, Manchester.
D. Johnson, John H., 29, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
Jones, Alfred, 17, Goree Piazzas, Liverpool.
Jones, Captain, care of Mr. Jordan, Manchester.
Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
Jones, Roger Lyon, 1, Great George's Square, Liverpool.
P. Just, John, Grammar School, Bury.

Keet, George J., 90, Renshaw Street. Liverpool.
D.E.P. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington,
Kerferd, John A., 23, Everton Village, Liverpool.
D Kilpin, Thomas Johnson, 1, Arrad Street, Hope Street, Liverpool.

D.P. Lamb, David, Plumpton Terrace, 29, Everton Road, Liverpool.
Lambert, David Howe, 1, York Buildings, Dale Street, and Bedford Street, Liverpool.
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Lingard, Alexander Rowsand, M.R.C.S., Eastham.
Lindsay, Hon. Colin, Haigh Lands, Wigan.
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D.* Lord, Lieut. William, R.N., Surveyor of the Port, 16, Sandon Street, Liverpool.
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Macrorie, David, M.D., M.R.C.S., 126, Duke Street, Liverpool.
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D.E. MATHER, JOHN, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, AUDITOR.
Mather, Robert, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
Mawdsley, James, 11, Canning Street, and 4, Castle Street, Liverpool.
Mawdsley, John, Mersey Court, Covent Garden, and Pool Cottage, Seacombe, Cheshire.
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D E.P. MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A. 68, Lord Street, Liverpool, HON. CURATOR.
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P. Moore, Rev. Thomas, M.A., 57, Everton Road, Liverpool, Hon. Secretary.
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E. Pedder, Richard, Stanley Terrace, Preston.
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Poore, Henry, C., 42, Castle Street, and Bedford Street North, Liverpool.
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Whiteley, Rev. William, Whitegate, Northwich.
Williams, John, Chester.
Willoughby, Edward G.
Wilson, Henry, 12, Everton Terrace, and Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
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Wood, Isaac Moreton, Middlewich, Cheshire.

Wood, John Nelson, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Oaklands, Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
D.E.*Woodhouse, John George, 47, Henry Street, Liverpool.
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P. Bell, William, Ph.D., 17, Gower Place, Euston Square, London.
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Blaauw, Wm. H., M.A., F.S.A., Beechland, Uckfield.
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D. De Perthes, J. Boucher de Crevecoeur, Chevalier des ordres de Malte et de Legion d'honneur, membre des diverses Sociétés Savantes, Abbeville.
Duncan, Philip B., M.A., Ashmolean Society, Oxford.

D. Londesborough, The Lord, F.S.A., Londesborough Park, Yorkshire, and Piccadilly, London.

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Willis, Rev. Robert, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Caius' College, Cambridge.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1851-52.

President.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Ellesmere, D.C.L., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Lancashire.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex Officiis.

The Mayor of Chester.
The Mayor of Lancaster.
The Mayor of Liverpool.
The Mayor of Manchester.

Elected.

Right Hon. The Earl of Sefton, Croxteth Hall, Lancashire.
Major-General The Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire.
The Venerable Jonathan Brooks, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton, Liverpool.
Rev. David Thom, D.D., Ph.D., Edge Hill, Liverpool.

Other Members of the Council, elected.

Rev. George Clayton, M.A., Warmingham, Middlewich.
Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton Park, Tarporley.
John Harland, Esq., Manchester.
Edward Higgin, Esq., Elmleigh, Breckside Park.
Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Collegiate Institution.
Thomas Johnson Kilpin, Esq., Arrad Street, Hope Street.
John Just, Esq., Grammar School, Bury.
James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington.
David Lamb, Esq., Plumpton Terrace, Everton.
John Buck Lloyd, Esq., Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West.
James Middleton, Esq., Grecian Terrace, Everton.
Hugh Neill, F.R.A.S., Mount Pleasant.
James A. Picton, F.S.A., Clayton Square.
C. B. Robinson, Esq., 102, Chatham Street.
John Robson, Esq., Warrington.
James W. Whitehead, Esq., Orange Court, Castle Street.

Auditors.

Peter R. M'Quin, Esq., 20, Water Street. | John Mather, Esq., 58, Mount Pleasant,

Treasurer.

Thomas Avison, F.S.A., 16, Cook Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Curator of the Museum.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Secretaries.

Corresponding Secretary.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Clarence Street, Everton, Liverpool.

Recording Secretary.

Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A., 57, Everton Road, Liverpool.

Secretary in London.

H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., 2, Russell Place.

FIRST MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 13th November, 1851.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of nine Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following was enrolled a Member, without election or entrance fee, in accordance with Bye-law of 28th November, 1849:—

John Williams, Esq., late Mayor of Chester.

The following were duly elected:—

1. *Honorary Member.*

Wm. Bell, Ph.D., 17, Gower Place, Euston Square, London.

2. *Ordinary Members.*

Robert Hugh Brackstone, 47, Wood Street, London.
John Binning Donaldson, 14, Low Hill Terrace, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies.*

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. 28.

The Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. iv.

Archæologia Cambrensis, or Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association for July and October, 1851.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, for 1850.

2. From the *Authors*.

Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. part 6, by Chas. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

Etchings of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, extracted from Do. by Do.

Miscellanea Palatina; consisting of Genealogical Essays, illustrative of Lancashire and Cheshire families, and a memoir on the Cheshire Domesday Roll. By George Ormerod, D.C.L., &c.

Treasure Trove in Northumberland, by John Fenwick, Esq.

History of Liverpool, part vi. By Thomas Baines, Esq.

3. From the *Editors*.

Ancient Charters, and other Muniments of the Borough of Clitheroe; edited from the original documents, with Translations and Notes. By John Harland, Esq.

Autobiography of Wm. Stout of Lancaster, wholesale and retail grocer and ironmonger; a Member of the Society of Friends,—A.D. 1685–1752. Edited by John Harland, Esq.

The Restoration of All Nations, or a Vindication of the Goodness and Grace of God; by Jeremiah White, Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. Edited by D. Thom, D.D., Ph.D.

4. From the *Artists*.

A map of the Borough of Liverpool, for computing distances for the fares of Hackney Coaches, 1851. Executed for the Corporation of Liverpool, by Maclure, Macdonald, and Macgregor.

Lithograph of the Ancient Stone Coffins, cut in the rock, at Heysham, Lancashire; by the Rev. J. F. Lee, M.A., Grammar School Lancaster.—Lithograph of a portion of the Walls of Ancient Verulam; by Ditto.—Etching of Roman Sepulchral Remains, found in the Church-yard of St. Stephen's, near St. Albans, 1848, by Ditto.—Etching of part of a Column found at St. Albans; by Ditto.—Etching of the doorway of the Church of Belgrave, Leicestershire; by Do.

5. From *other* Donors.

Jos. Mayer, F S A., Proprietor.	An Anastatic fac-simile of the Chronicle of Thomas Sprott, privately printed by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.; with a copy of the original in Roman letter, and an English translation by Dr. Bell.
John Fenwick, Esq.	Slogans of the North of England, by Michael Hislabie Denham, Esq.
John Caton Thompson, Esq.	Blome's Britannia, 1673.
J. H. Johnson, Esq.	The New Testament, by Bonham Norton, 1673. Pharmacopeiæ Londiniensis, 1683.
	Chronological Chart of Anglican Church Architecture.
James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington.	The History of Manchester, by the Rev. W. Whitaker, 1773.
John Harland, Esq.	Newspaper Cuttings of various Antiquarian Articles.
Mr. James Stonehouse.	The Art of War, by Nicholas Machiavell, 1560.
Mr. Thomas Brakell.	An American Bull-frog, preserved and stuffed.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By P. R. M'Quie, Esq.	A volume entitled "Cœlum Philosophorum, seu liber de secretis Naturæ;" per Philippum Ulstadium. Lugduni, 1557.
	Two ancient drinking bowls of stone, with carved circles, and oriental inscriptions. One of black stone is from the shore of the Black Sea; the other of variegated marble is from Jerusalem.
By Dr. Hume.	Three jagged spears of wood. One is said to be from Caffraria, with feathered head and arrow notches; another is from New South Wales; and the third, of very curious construction, from Western Africa.
By Andrew J. Lamb, Esq.	An ancient Fibula of peculiar construction, believed to have been found in Whittlesea Mere.
By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	The following drawings to illustrate his Paper:—viz., 1. Peel Hall, near Tarvin, Cheshire.—2. Another view of Ditto.—3 Inscription on Ditto.—4. Gayton Hall, near Heswall, Cheshire.—5. Stair-case at Ditto.—6. Heswall Church, Cheshire.—7. Three curious monuments in Ditto.

By Richard Brooke, F.S.A.

The Poll Book of Free Burgesses of Liverpool, who voted at the election for Liverpool in 1780, when the contest took place between Bamber Gascoyne, Jun., Esq., Richard Pennant, Esq., and Henry Rawlinson, Esq., which terminated in the election of Mr. Gascoyne and Mr. Rawlinson.

The Book of Addresses, Squibs, Pasquinades, Songs, &c., written on the occasion of that election. We learn from it that the principal electioneering houses of the candidates were the Fleece (Banner's), and George's Coffee House, Castle Street, for Mr. Gascoyne; the Golden Lion (Forshaw's), for Mr. Pennant; and the Talbot, Black Horse, and Rainbow, for Mr. Rawlinson.

The Poll Book, &c., for 1796, when the candidates were General Tarleton and Colonel Gascoyne, who were elected, and John Tarleton, Esq., who was unsuccessful.

The Book of Addresses, Squibs, &c., of that election.

Miscellaneous Communications.

Mr. Brooke stated, that between 30 and 40 years ago, a ceremony somewhat similar to the election of a Mock Mayor in Newcastle, Staffordshire, used to take place annually in Liverpool. On every St. Luke's day, 18th October (on which day the Mayor of Liverpool was then elected), a number of working men, acting as a kind of Mock Corporation, used to meet at Page's Tavern, in Roscoe Street, for the purpose of electing a Mock Mayor. They were called the Mayor and Corporation of "Asses' Green," from the circumstance of an uninclosed tract of ground being then in front of the tavern, extending thence to the west side of Rodney Street, and forming part of it. After the election, which took place after dark, the new "Mayor of Asses' Green" underwent the ceremony of "Chairing." He was carried in procession, attended by drums and fifes, with colours, and occasionally torches, and accompanied by a considerable crowd; and the procession proceeded through Roscoe Street and Leece Street, into Rodney Street, and when it arrived about half-way between Leece Street and Knight Street it made a halt, and "the Corporation" and populace sang "*God save the King.*" They used to halt close to Mr. Brooke's residence; and as they were invariably well conducted, and as he considered the ceremony harmless, he was accustomed to give "his worship" a small gratuity. The procession then used to move on along Rodney Street to Knight Street, down the latter to Roscoe Street, and back to the Tavern. Mr. Brooke also stated, that he had no reason to suppose that the ceremony of electing the Mock Mayor of Asses' Green was an ancient one. It has now

been discontinued for many years; the last time that he could recollect seeing the procession was on St. Luke's day, about 30 years ago.

Mr. Neill mentioned, that of the original members of the Liverpool Athenæum, established in 1798, only three now survive.

Dr. Hume read a letter from the Town Clerk, intimating that the Library and Museum Committee of the Town Council had agreed to provide accommodation for the Society's Collection, at the apartments of the Free Public Library and Museum.

A letter having been read from John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., of Hale, suggesting that at least two meetings of the Session should be held during the day, for the accommodation of non-resident members;

It was moved by HUGH NEILL, F.R.A.S., seconded by RICHARD BROOKE, F.S.A., and resolved,—

> "That the Society, approving and recommending the principle of the suggestion, refer the matter to the Council for consideration, and for the arrangement of details if necessary."

PAPER.

THE ALLEGED ROYAL VISITS TO LIVERPOOL.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

It is always at a disadvantage that any one sets up a doubt, or even hints at the want of historical evidence to support an old, and generally received tradition; nor ought we to wonder at this, for one half the world never ask themselves the question whether it is likely to be true, or whence the narrator had his authority for the assertion. On the contrary, they content themselves with the probability of the occurrence, and so taking it for granted, tradition often becomes, in course of time, embodied into written history, and is handed down by after writers on the subject as fact. Just such is the case in the subject now before us; where various writers on the early history of Liverpool, after failing to make it a British or a Roman Station, boldly drag in Royalty to fill up the gap, which they wished could have been occupied by a British Chieftain or a Roman Emperor.

But surely this is not the true end and aim of History—to bring forward mere imaginings and suppositions, to be set forth in such light as to be like a "Jack-o'-Lantern" leading us into a quagmire:

and then, on the return of thought, we find that we have been misled, and stand upon a flimsey coating of unconsolidated rubbish.

I shall not presume to lay down any rules for guidance in Historical writing; but I must say that at the present day too much time is thrown away in argument on subjects that are quite unworthy of the higher ends that ought to be held in view by every one who undertakes to write on History. And however fond we may be of doing honor to our home, truth should not be sacrificed at the altar of doubt; as it is far better to be accused of "the sin of ignorance" than blamed for negligence.

In most of the histories of Liverpool, King John is said to have visited this town in the year 1206, but of that event we have no positive record, as we shall presently see; the only document now preserved being one in the Close Rolls, which states that the King was at Lancaster on the 26th of February, 1206, and at Chester on the 28th of February following. But that is not sufficient documentary evidence to prove that the King visited Liverpool on his way from Lancaster to Chester; for Liverpool is not at that time named at all. That the King might have stayed at his hunting-seat, in the Royal Forest of Toxteth, is probable; but it is more likely, I think, that he stayed at the homestead of some neighbouring Lord, where he would be entertained in a befitting manner as a Sovereign, than that he should visit the Castle of Liverpool, even admitting that Castle to have been in existence at the time, which we have very poor grounds for asserting.

It was in 1208—two years after this alleged visit—that John first became possessor of the town of Liverpool, as the following document shews:—

> "John, by the Grace of God, &c.—Know ye that we have granted, and by our present Charter have confirmed, to Henry Fitz-Warine of Lancaster, the lands which King Henry, my father, gave to Warine, his father, for his services, to wit: Ravinesmoles, Amnolnesdal, and the French Lea, *which we have given to him in exchange for Liverpul and Uplitherland*, which the aforesaid Henry, my father, had given with the

KING WILLIAM'S ROOM, PEEL HALL

CHESHIRE.

Drawn and Engraved by Llewellynn Jewitt] [From a Sketch by Joseph Mayer Esq.

aforesaid lands, to the aforesaid Warine, his father, *and which the said Henry hath remised to us and our heirs.* To be holden to him and to his heirs (on payment of) 20/ yearly, at the feast of St. Michael, for all service and exaction, saving to us and our heirs the wardships and marriages of the heirs of the said Henry, in manner as our ancestors used to have the same, when Warine, the father of the said Henry, did the service of a falconer to our ancestors. Wherefore the aforesaid Henry, and his heirs after him, may have and hold the aforesaid lands, with all their appurtenances, of us and our heirs, by the aforesaid service, in wood and plain, in ways and paths, in meadows and feedings, in moors and marshes, in waters and mills, and in pools, well and in peace, freely and quietly, peaceably and honorably, fully and entirely, in all places and things, with all liberties and free customs, to the aforesaid lands pertaining, as is aforesaid.

"Witness,

"William, Earl Warenne,
"William, Earl of Derby,
"S. de Quency, Earl of Winchester,
"William Bruhere,
"Gilbert Fitz Reinfare (Reinfrea),
"Thomas Basset,
"Allan Basset,
"Robert de Groséley (Grezley),
"William de Cantilupe.

"Given by the hand of Henry de Wells, Archdeacon of Wells, at Winchester, on the 28th day of August in the 9th year of our Reign."

We now begin to find that the King saw the great advantages that would flow from establishing a town at the entrance of the Mersey, as he would by this means make that part of the coast secure against the attack from an enemy. Accordingly, in the same year, he ordered his vassals in Toxteth to settle in the new Town, and as an inducement thereto, gave them the following grant:—

"Carta Regis Johannis.

"Rex om'ib^{s} qui burgagia ap' villam de Liv^{r}pul h're volu'int &c. Sciatis quod c. cessim^{s} om'ib^{s} qui burgagia ap' Liv^{r}pul cep'int q^{d} ha'nt omnes libertates et lib^{r}as c. suetudines in villa de Liv^{r}pul quas aliquis lib. burg. sup' mare h't in t^{r}ra n're.

Et i'o vob. mandam^{s} q^{d} secure et in pace n'ra illuc veniatis ad burgagia n'ra recipienda et hospitanda. Et in huj^{s} rei testim^{o} has litt^{r}as n'ras patentes vob. transmittm^{s}. T. Sim. de Patesh. ap' Wint. xxvij die Aug. anno r. n. jx^{o}.—p. Sim. de Patesh."*

TRANSLATION.

"The King to all who may be willing to have burgages at the town of Liverpul &c. Know ye that we have granted to all who shall take burgages at Liverpul that they shall have all liberties and free customs in the town of Liverpul which any free borough on the sea hath in our land. And we therefore command you, that securely and in our peace you come there to receive and inhabit our burgages.—And in testimony hereof we send you these our letters patent. Witness Simon de Pateshill at Winchester the twenty-seventh day of August in the ninth year of our reign. By Simon de Pateshill."

Thus it was made a free Burgh. We must mention, however, that it is asserted that in the 4th year of this reign, 1203, certain repairs were made of the Castle of Liverpool; but so inexpensive were they, that it must either have been lately erected and required few repairs, or else the record alludes to some small tower of defence; as, in the same year, we find there were much larger works done at West Derby Castle.

I have therefore come to the conclusion, that from the evidence adduced, there is very little foundation for the belief that his Majesty, King John, visited Liverpool at this time; and certainly he did not do so on his return from Ireland at a later period of his reign.

Now let us see what authority we have for the assertion that King William the Third visited Liverpool, on his way to Ireland and the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690.

In the first place, we have plenty of documentary evidence that Liverpool was not such a place as would tempt a King to go out of

* Copied from a Transcript in the Records of the Corporation of Liverpool, which was taken from the original Record of Chancery remaining in the Tower of London. Rot. Pat. 9 Joh. No. 30.—J. M.

STAIRCASE PEEL HALL, CHESHIRE.

[Llewellynn Jewitt, del. & sc.] [From a Sketch by Joseph Mayer, Esq.

his way to see it, at a time when the dismemberment of part of his Kingdom was threatened, and his subjects in Ireland in rebellion against him. The safety of all depended upon prompt and decisive measures being taken on the spot. Nay, would he not have been blamed for imprudence in delay, had he spent his time in visits of condescension when he ought to have been in the field, inspecting his troops; which were then waiting for him at Hoylake, the place of embarkation. Liverpool at that time was not considered a safe harbour "by reason of the strong tydes that run here;"* besides which, there were many reasons why Liverpool was not chosen as the place of rendezvous—amongst which was the uncertainty of obtaining provisions for the army in that neigbourhood, as the country was for the most part an uncultivated waste for many miles round on this side of the Mersey; entirely without roads and the necessary means of conveyance. This appears to have been well known to the authorities of that day, and we find some time before that orders were given to the Commissariat, as follows:—

"Instructions to be observed by Godphrey Richards, Purveyo^{r} of their Majs^{tles} Train.

"You shall wth all convenient speed repair into England p'ticular into county of Lancaster and y^{e} adjacent there to bargain for and buy att the chepest rates & in y^{e} most convenient place or places for shipping off & transportation to Belfast in this pvince such & so great a quantity of good cleane dry and wholesome oates as may be a convenient supply in y^{e} season for y^{e} Horses of their Maj^{tles} Train. And if y^{e} may not be had in & about Lancashire for & at a reasonable Price you are to use all Expedition in repairing to Milford haven and the country adjacent their to buy y^{e} said quantity of y^{e} said grain in which yo^{u} shall use yo^{r} utmost care, skill, & Diligence.

"And for a supply of money to buy or purchas the said quantity of oates yo^{u} shall have & recieve a lett^{r} of creadite directed to y^{e} Hono^{ble} S^{r} Henry Goodrich Knight & Barr^{tt} L^{t} Genrall of their Maj^{tles} Ordinance & y^{e} rest of y^{e} principall officers of y^{e} same to supply yo^{u} with any sum to any place

* See Collins' Great Britain Coasting Pilot.

for y^e^ purpose aforesaid not exceeding three Hundred Pounds starling. And in regard expedition is to be used in y^e^ s^d^ service for y^e^ better pformance thereof yo^u^ shall also reseive a warr^tt^ for one of y^e^ ships now in their Maj^ties^ service to Transport y^e^ said oates into y^e^ s^d^ Towne of Belfast of 35 Tuns or thereabouts.

"You shall also observe such further ord^rs^ & Instructions as from tyme to tyme yo^u^ shall recieve of me or shall be sent yo^u^ by S^r^ Henry Goodrich & the rest of the Principall Officers of y^e^ Ordinance before mentioned. Given att y^e^ head Quarters at Lisborne this 8th of January 1689 in y^e^ first yeare of their Maj^ties^ Raine &c.

"SCHOMBERG."

Let us now trace the records of the Royal progress, and we shall find it stated that King William left London on the 4th of June, 1690; slept at Peel Hall, the seat of Colonel Roger Whiteley, near Tarvin, on the 9th; and the next day we find him at Chester, and being Sunday morning, attending Divine Service at the Cathedral. From thence, the same afternoon, he travelled to Gayton Hall, near Parkgate, the mansion of William Glegg, Esq., where he stayed on the night of the 10th;* and the next morning, commanding Mr. Glegg to kneel before him, he struck him on the shoulder with his sword, and putting out his hand, raised him as Sir William Glegg. Departing from Gayton, he at once proceeded to the Leasowes; and the troops striking their tents, were put in motion, and embarked on board the Royal Fleet (at a point since called the King's Gap) lying on the Lake, and sailed out with the tide at noonday.

The following order corroborates the date of the King's staying at Gayton:—

"By virtue of his Majesty's order, dated at Gayton the tenth day of June, 1690:—I doe discharge you William Reymer (fformerly) Edward Tarlton master of the James of Liverpoole from his said Majesties service, and you are hereby discharged

* It was during his stay at Gayton that the King granted to Sir William and his heirs for ever, the free fishery of the River Dee, which right is now exercised by his descendants.

GAYTON HALL, CHESHIRE.

Drawn and Engraved by Llewellynn Jewitt] [From a Sketch by Joseph Mayer, Esq.

STAIRCASE, GAYTON HALL CHESHIRE.

Llewellynn Jewitt del & sc] [From a Sketch by Joseph Mayer, Esq

from the day of the date hereof. Given at my office at Hoylake this Eleventh day of August Anno domini One thousand six hundred and ninety.

"SAM^{LL} ATKINSON."

"To William Reymer (fformerly)
Edward Tarlton master of the
James of Liverpool."*

This Edward Tarlton was the person who piloted the King's vessel from Hoylake to Carrickfergus.

We have, down to the present time, some idea of the state of the roads in those days, and see the time it took to go from one place to another on the King's highroad. How then would it be possible, as has been alleged by various writers, that the King with his retinue could pass either from Chester to Liverpool and then to Gayton, or from Gayton to Liverpool and then to Hoylake in one day, over a cross country, where there were only agricultural roads, and having on either supposition, to cross and recross the river Mersey? The accomplishment of so much would be almost an impossibility at that time, and a good day's work at the present time, with all the advantages which we now possess of good and nearly direct roads from one place to the other. I think, on looking at the large tract of country which would have to be traversed by the King, and the

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* Copied from the original document in the possession of Mr. Thomas Moore, a descendant of the Tarltons. But, for the above service and others rendered the King, we find that Edward Tarlton never received his due reward; and his widow, petitioning the Parliament, received the following order—though never paid:—

"Transport Office, Aug. 20, 1695.

"No. 252.

"Whereas by an Act of Parliament passed in y^{e} seaventh year of his Ma^{ties} Reign y^{e} Comm^{rs} of Transportacon are Impowered and Directed to make out authentick Debentures for all and every the Shiv s hired for Transporting Forces, Ammunicon and Provisions, for reduceing y^{e} Kingdom of Ireland to its due obedience to his Ma^{tie}. We y^{e} said Comm^{rs} doe certifie that there is due to the Ship Wheel of ffortune, Ralph Standish M^{r} the sume of fourtey three Pounds & Eight Shillings as appears by an acc^{t} stated in y^{e} Books of this office, and is hereby to be p^{d} to Mrs. Ann Tarlton or her assignes for y^{e} use of y^{e} owners of said ship.

"SAM. ATKINSON,
"ANTH. DUNCOMBE,
"ROB^{T}. HENLY,
"THO: HOPKINS."

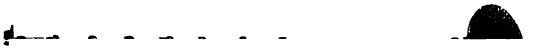
"Entered in y^{e} Auditors Office
p^{r} order y^{e} Comm
JOHN HENLY."

means at hand for doing it, that difficulties would be presented which would at once have deterred his Majesty from attempting it: and the more so, as he could have no special object in view in visiting such a poor and insignificant town as Liverpool then was. And if it was undertaken at all, it must have been on the way from Chester to Gayton, where the distance would have been nearly 30 miles, as there certainly would not have been time to do it the next day from Gayton, before high water, at which time the King and his fleet sailed out of the Lake.

By a computation of the state of the tide on the 10th of June, 1690, old style, I find it was high water at Hoylake or Liverpool at nine o'clock, A.M.; but we now find, by the alteration in time of flowing of the tides, that, by the present computation of rise and flow, it would have been twenty-two minutes past eleven. The former computation is, however, no doubt correct; as we find that the King's ship, on board of which his Majesty was, grounded on a Bank near the Point of Ayre, off the Isle of Man, at about four o'clock the next morning. This being the low water of a spring tide, his vessel did not get off for more than an hour afterwards; and the Bank has ever since been called "King William's Bank."

On these data, therefore, my conviction is, that neither King John nor William the Third, nor indeed any other Sovereign of these Realms, visited Liverpool; until the time just now passed, when Her most gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, was pleased to honor the town with her august presence on the ninth day of last month. Her loyal and faithful subjects vied with each other to receive her with all the demonstrations of homage and affection, as became a great people to a great Queen; and on the part of Her Majesty, we shall long remember the satisfaction which she expressed at the view of the mighty works raised on the site of the once small fishing village, and the great signs of progress still carrying on in this "city of ships."

The annexed Illustration,—representing the Box which contained the address presented to the Queen by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council,—is supplied by Mr. Mayer, at the request of the Society.



SECOND MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 8th December, 1851.

JOHN ROBSON, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of eight Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following was enrolled a Member, without election or entrance fee, in accordance with Bye-law of 28th November, 1849 :—

Sir John Bent, late Mayor of Liverpool.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members :—

Cornelius Bourne, of Stalmine Hall, Preston.
Rev. Peter Steele Dale, M.A., Hill House, Higher Tranmere.
Robert Norris Dale, 12, Exchange Street East.
James Edgar, 5, Wesley Street, Toxteth Park.
William John Hammond, Swift Court, 11, Castle Street.
John Hodgson Hinde, 9, Saville Row, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Acton House, Felton, Northumberland.
Joseph Perrin, 15, Prince's Street, Manchester.
Rev. Wm. Thornber, B.A., Blackpool.
John Abraham Tinne, Briarley, Aigburth, and Bank Chambers, 8, Cook Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies*.

Communications made to the Society. No. 1. From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, No. 6.

2. From *individual* Donors.

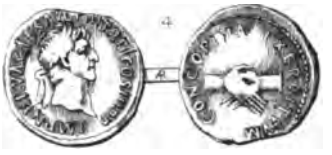
John Mather, Esq.	Ormerod's History of the County Palatine of Chester, 3 vols. fol. 1819.
Jos. Guyton, Esq.	A Black-letter Bible, of the date 1551.
Miss Chambers.	Observations on Meteorology, by J. H. Chambers, of the 46th Regiment.
John Harland, Esq.	Newspaper Cuttings of various Antiquarian articles.
Rev. W. H. Massie, M.A.	Three Etchings of Paintings in distemper, found on the walls of Gawsworth Church, during the alterations now going on there.

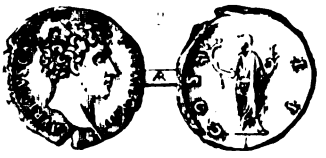
1. St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ over a river. He walks on the water, supporting himself by his stick. The background is filled up with various figures, amongst which is a church, with bell in the turret, &c., and in front stands a nun, in the usual costume, with flagellum and rosary. In her left hand she holds a lantern, to direct the saint, should he want light.
2. St. George and the Dragon. In the distance the princess is on her knees, and before her a lamb. Further off is a walled town, with the king and queen looking over the gateway.
3. The General Judgment.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Sefton, Vice President.	A large collection, consisting of 33 silver and 47 copper coins, found on the estate of his lordship, at a farm called "The Old Sprink," in the parish of Torbock, in the year 1838. They include several of the emperors, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Aurelius, and others, with one of Julia, daughter of Titus, inscribed "IVLIA. AVGVSTA. TITI. AVGVSTI. F.;" on the reverse, "R. VENVS. AVGVST."
By J. A. Graham, M.R.C.S.L.	Four charms or amulets of parchment, nearly seven inches long, by four broad, on which are written sentences from the Koran.—These were taken from the persons of the

COINS FOUND AT TARBOCK, LANCASHIRE.





J. MAYER, DIR.

Malay pirates during the late expedition up the rivers of Borneo, by the officers and men of H.M. ship Royalist.

By Miss Okill. An early Map of Lancashire (from Speed), by Henry Overton.

By Dr. Kendrick. A Horn-book of the time of Charles II.
Pulpit Bible used at Hill-Cliff Chapel, date 1633.

Various Drawings in illustration of his paper.

By Richard Brooke, F.S.A. A Bill of Lading, dated 1st February, 1766, for 24 male and 6 female slaves, shipped at the bar of Senegal for Georgia, S. Carolina, by the Ship Maryborough, Capt. David Morton. The slaves were consigned to Messrs. Broughton and Smith, of Georgia. The bill was one of those used when Liverpool participated largely, but in common with other seaports of England, in the African slave trade.

By Joseph Guyton, Esq. Fossil bones found at Saxmundham, in Suffolk. They are so numerous as to become an article of use in agriculture.

Two pieces of copper, similar to the gold fibulæ usually found in Britain. These are used on the coast of Manilla as the current coin of the country.

By C. B. Robinson, Esq. Sketches taken in various parts of the country, viz.:—

From St. Andrews, 5; Foulis Church, 3; Arbroath Abbey, 3; Bangor, 1; Bebington, 1; Chester, 3; Ellesmere, 1; Furness Abbey, 1; Invergarvie, 2.

By Dr. Hume. Lithographed portrait of Kossuth.—Artist, Thos. Skaife.

By Alfred Rimmer, Esq. Proofs of his Illustrations of Ancient Halls in Lancashire.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. An ancient deed, historically interesting as relating to the original quay; the first accommodation given by Liverpool to the ships which traded with the port. The document is entitled—"*Lease of Gorsy fields for ever, paye* 6/8 *ground rent;*" and endorsed, "M^{d} that possessyon & seasyn was taken & deliv'ed by the attornes w^{t}hin wrytten in the p.sence of these p.sones folowynge viz Robert Corbett Rauffe Jameson Rauffe Egekers Thom's Englefelde cum aliis."

"This indenture made the xijth daye of August in the thyrd

yere of the raigne of o^r^ Soveraigne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quyne of England France and Ireland defend^or^ of the faith &c. Betwyxte Rauff Sekerston* Mayre of the Quynes Majesties borough and porttowne of Liv'rpole in the com' of Lancast^r^ his brether and cominaltie upon the oone p.tie, and Thomas Secomm* of the same towne & countie gentylman upon thoder p.tie Wyttenessyth y^t^ whereas William More* esq'er in thoose dayes past mayre of liv'pole aforsaid his brether and cominaltie of oone holle mynde consent & assent dyd gyve graunte & by they^r^ dede sufficient in the law confirmed unto Hugh Davidson late of liv'pole barcker deceased & to his heyrs and assignes in a fee ferme for ev^r^ all thoose lands wheche they had laying and beyng at the eastende of the galow feld soe eastwarde to a cloose callid the Gorstie heygh in leingh & in breade from the lands of Richard Starckie esquier unto the heath & a long diche callid the common diche upon the sowth p.tie of the sayd galow felde and soe extendyth eastward unto the sowth cornell of the sayd Gorstie heigh whiche lands by gud and just conveyhance in the law discendid unto Gilbert Hughson oone of the sons legitimate of the sayd Hugh Davidson w^ch^ Gilbert havyng the right thearein for a certen somme of monieys & other causes hym movying haath as well bargayned sold gyvyn grauntyd surrendred assigned and delivered the sayd lands wyth thapp^r^tun'nce & all the wrytyngs thereof, as all that his ryght terme tytle int^r^st possession & demaunde whatsoev^r^ unto the sayd Thomas his heyre & assignes for ever. In corrobaraconn & p.fourmanconn whereof the forsayd Rauff Sekerston mayre aforesayd his brether & cominaltie have gyvyn grauntyd & confyrmed & be theise p.^r^nts doe frelie give graunte and by this theyr dede confirme unto the sayd Thomas Secom all & ev^r^ie thoose the same lands as they be wyth the bounds mayred in man'r and fourme before in theise p'nts expressed & specified. To have and to hold all the sayd lands wyth thapp^r^tn'nce theareto belongyng wythall & singler the liberties commodities easements p.fets & all & singler other thadvauntages to the same in anywise blongyng to the sayd Thomas Secom his heyrs and assigns & to his and they^r^ use

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* William More was Mayor of Liverpool, 15th Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.
Thomas Secom, ditto ditto, 5th Elizabeth, 1562.
Rauff Seckerston, ditto ditto, 3rd and 4th Edward VI. 1550.
Ditto, second time, 4th Elizabeth, 1561.

The Gallow field was situated on the North side of Shaw's Brow, and the East side of the Pool, now Byrom Street. In the South-west corner of the field stood the Townsend cross, at the end of the Bridge which was erected over the Pool at the extremity of Dale Street.

Whilst this sheet is going through the press, all the houses on the side of Shaw's Brow adjoining St. John's Church-yard, together with the whole of the village of Saint John's, as it was called, are being removed, in order to improve the locality. The remains of the very extensive Potteries which once occupied that site are swept away; so that the only remnant now standing is the oon (kiln), situated on the north side of Shaw's Brow, now occupied as an emery mill by Messrs. Johnson, Church Street.

in a fee ferme for ever. Yeldyng therfare yerelie to the sayd Rauff Seckerston mayre his brether cominaltie & to they^r succesſo^rs & assignes six shylyngs eyght pence of gud & lawfull money of England at the feasts of Sayncte Michaell tharchungell & at the Annonci'con of the blessed virgin S. Marie by evonn porc'ons w^ch yerelie Rente of vj s & viij d amongyst thother annuall rents of the sayd towne is to be employed to & for the use and p.servac'on of the kayegh in the portte & havon of liv^rpole defence & maynten'nce of they walles on the westseasyde theare: for the rep.ac'on and amendement of the pay^ments as w^ll w'howte the strets of the sayd towne as of they strets wythin the towne wyth other Rep.ac'ons necessarie to the common hall theare: and for wante of rente paym^t and noe sufficient distresse to be had & found in & upon they sayd lande wythin twelve dayes next after any of they feasts and dayes it oughe to be payed at the sayd Rente and Rents w^h th'arreragies thearof if eny be lawfullie demaundyd & askyd Than it shalbe lawfull to & for the sayed mayre that tyme beyng his brether cominaltie they^r succesſo^rs & assignes to reentre & the same lands w'h thapp'tunce & other theye p.misse have agane & repossede as in they^r form^r eastate this dede indentid or eny thyng thearein conteigned to the contrarie in eny wyse not wythstandyng: and the said Rauff Sekerston mayre his brether cominaltie succesſo^rs & assignes they sayd lands and othey they p.misses wyth thapp'tn'nce unto the sayd Thomas his heyre & assignes in man^r & fourme as is afore spe'ied agaynst al folkis shall awarand & defende by thiese p.sents for ever. And furthermore knowe the sayd Rauff Sekerston mayre hys brether & cominaltie to have constituted ordeyned and in they^r place have putt they^r faythfull in Christ Ric' Hannson & John Heygh their lawfull attorneys in to the sayd lands & other they p.miss wyth thapp'rtn'nce to entre for theyme & in theyr name & thearin to take possession & seasyn fullie and peaceablie: And the full & peaceable possession & season thearof soe takyn to gyve & deliv^r unto the sayd Thomas Secom or his certen attorney to have & to hold to the same Thomas Secom his heyrs & assigns for ev^r accordyng to the streng^t fourme and effecte of this p.nte dede to hym theareof made and for thaccomplishment & true p.fourmac'on of all and singler they p^rmiss' as well upon the oone p.tie as upon the other before in this present dede indentid expressed & specified they sayd pties & ayther of theyme stand bounden to the other by this one p'nte dede in the somme of fyftie pounds of gud and leafull money of England. In wytteness wheareof to the one p.tie of thiese p.sents Remagnyng wyth the sayd Thomas Secom his heyrs and assignes the sayd Rauff Sekerston mayre his brether & cominaltie have affixed and putt the common sealle of the sayd borough & portteowne of liv^rpole aforesayd yevyn the daye & yere first above expressd and specified."*

* This is printed from a transcript, by a gentleman connected with the British Museum. In the absence of types to indicate the contractions, they have been represented approximately by the ordinary marks.

A fragment of a seal of red wax is appended, being a portion of the common seal of the town of Liverpool, bearing the impress of a bird with a part of the legend.....COM.....and beneath, *apparently* upon a scroll issuing from the bird's beak, IOH** This is the third document discovered by Mr. Mayer having the ancient seal of the corporation appended, all of which were supposed to have beendestroyed or lost.

Mr. Mayer mentioned that he had received a communication from Thomas Tobin, Esq., of Ballincollig, near Cork, one of the Members of the Society. Mr. Tobin stated that he was clearing out the rubbish from the old castle at Ballincollig, and adopting other means for its careful preservation.

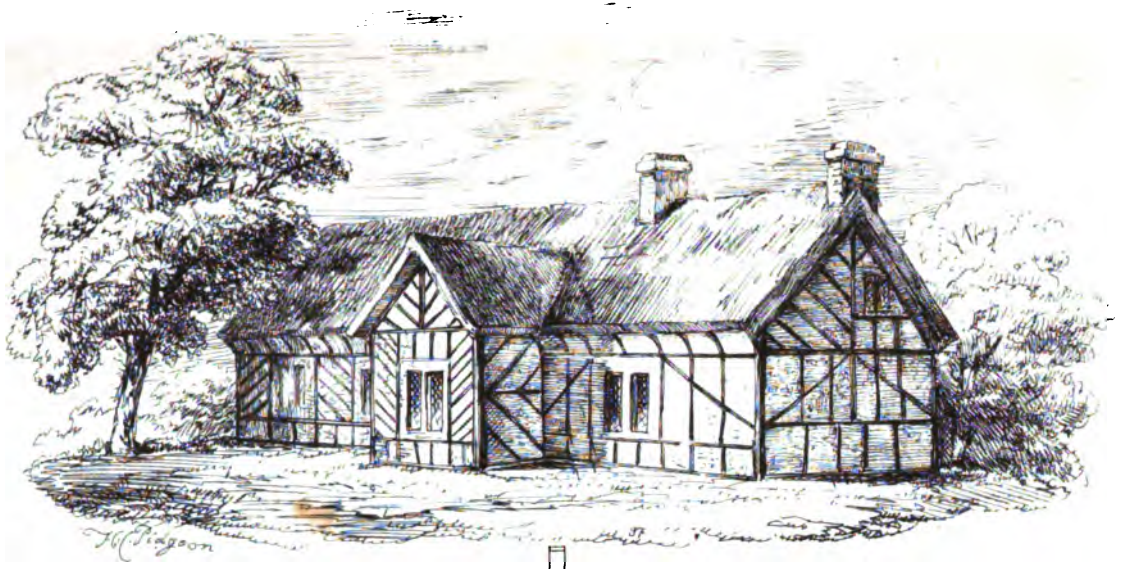
PAPERS.

I.—An Account of Warrington Siege, A.D. 1643; and of some Manuscripts of that Period recently discovered at Houghton Green, near Warrington,

By James Kendrick, M.D.

The following narrative of local history has been prompted by the recent discovery at Houghton-Green, near Warrington, of a number of original manuscripts, so closely connected with the military transactions in this part of our county, during the Civil War between Charles the First and his parliament, as to come peculiarly under the province of this Society for notice. They consist almost entirely of *warrants or precepts* for the supply of forage, provisions, and money to the troops of the party in power, alternately Royalist and Parliamentarian. A few only of the documents are in a complete state of preservation; the remainder have suffered much from the attacks of mice or insects, but about thirty can without difficulty be deciphered. The whole were discovered in the month of May last, in the roof of an ancient farm-house at Houghton-Green, a hamlet about two miles distant from Warrington. In one of the rooms on the chamber floor of the house in question, was a walled-up cavity, apparently intended for concealment, and in the thatch immediately covering this the manuscripts were found, tied together with a piece of cord. The house appears to have formerly been the residence of Thomas Sargeant, who in 1640 was constable of Houghton, and at a subseqent period served the same office for Southworth with Croft adjacent In all probability, the varying occupation of the district by Parliamentarians and Royalists, led to his wary concealment in the thatch of his house, of these evidences of his implication with the Royalist cause.*

* The annexed Plate is a representation of the house at Houghton Green. The letter (A) shews the situation of the cavity in which the *documents* were found.



Ground Plan

Section

Chamber Plan

OLD HOUSE at HOUGHTON-GREEN near WARRINGTON

The members of this Society are necessarily unacquainted with many of the localities to which I shall have occasion to refer. This will be sufficient apology for my offering to their notice a few illustrative sketches, taken on the spot. By their means I hope to present the subject more definitely than I could do without their assistance.

It would be impossible in the course of a short paper, to read the whole of the documents now brought to light. I have, therefore to the best of my ability transcribed them, and offer the copy to the Society for acceptance.* A few I shall read at length, with a view of rendering more complete the immediate object of my present paper, which is to produce all the information which I have been able to collect on

WARRINGTON SIEGE, A.D. 1643.

At the outset of the Civil War, (January, 1641—42) when King Charles the First withdrew from his Parliament and repaired to York, the eyes of his Council were directed to Warrington, in the county of Lancaster, as the most fitting rallying-point for the royalist adherents. It was therefore selected as the spot where the first open declaration of war, the raising of the King's standard, should take place; and that "all but royal subject" James, Lord Strange, (shortly afterwards by the death of his father, seventh Earl of Derby,) was dispatched to Warrington, as the centre of the loyal counties of York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Chester, Lancaster, Salop, and Nottingham, and of North Wales. The Earl is said to have speedily raised twenty thousand men, well armed and loyal to their Sovereign. But enemies amongst the courtiers who remained with the King at York, poisoned the ear of his Majesty with unjust suspicions of his lordship's truth and loyalty, and this led to the royal standard being first displayed at Nottingham, on the 22nd of August 1642.

The Earl of Derby, however, still made Warrington his head quarters, and it was from thence that on the 24th of September following, he led 4000 foot, 200 dragoons, 100 horsemen, and 7 pieces of ordnance to the siege of Manchester, then a stronghold of the Parliament. It is well-known that his attempt was unsuccessful. Leading his discomfited forces to join the King at Shrewsbury, they formed part of the Royalist army at the battle of Edge-Hill on the 23rd of October following. The Earl him-

* At the close of this Paper will be found an *abstract* of the documents.

self had unwillingly returned to Warrington, to raise, at his own expense, new levies; and with these in the early part of November he laid siege to Birmingham, but again unsuccessful, the end of the month finds him with his troops in garrison at Warrington.

It was here, and about this period, that the Earl of Derby returned an indignant refusal to the tempting offers of the Parliament, that if his Lordship would engage in their good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors. "The purport of these letters," says the historian* of the 'House of Stanley' "raised a greater indignation in his lordship than all the slights and indignations he had received at court, whereupon he vouchsafed them no other answer than that he gave to the Colonel who brought the message—'Pray tell the gentlemen at Manchester, and let them tell the gentlemen at London, that when they hear I turn traitor, I shall hearken to their proposition, till then if I receive any other papers of this nature, it shall be at the peril of him who brings them.'"

The Earl of Derby, during his sojourn at Warrington, is traditionally said to have occupied a low thatched house on the south side of Church Street. It is still standing, and known as "The Earl's Lodgings," and I have reason to believe is the identical "Norris Tenement" bequeathed in 1621 by William, sixth earl of Derby, for the keeping in repair† of Warrington Bridge.‡

The Letter of Thomas Jesland, of Atherton, in Lancashire, to a Rev. Divine in London, under date of the 2nd of December, 1642,§ says, "The Lord Strange, now Earle of *Derbie*, is the great ringleader of the Popish faction and Malignant partie and keepes his rendezvous at *Warrington*, whither great multitudes of ill-affected people both out of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* doe daily resort, it lying upon the frontiers of both. They make daily great spoile in the country, which hath now awakened, and so incensed them, that they are, tide-death tide-life, resolved to endure it no longer."

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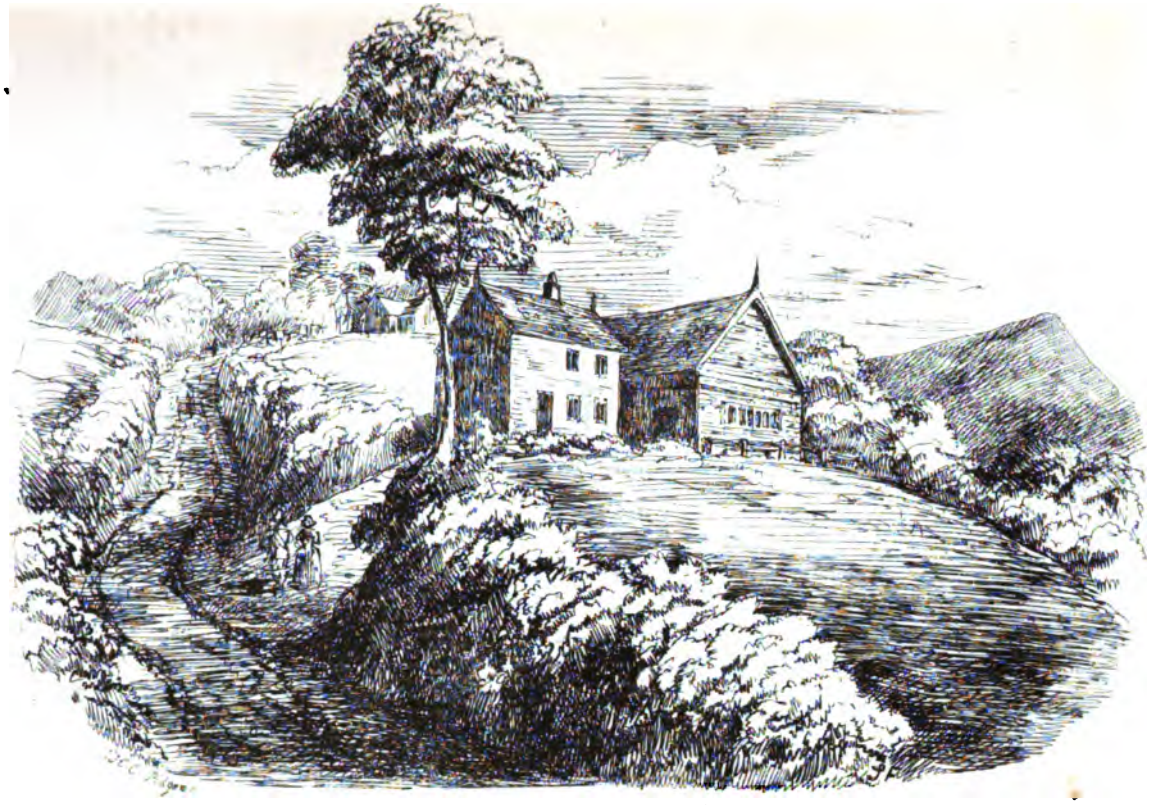
* John Seacome, house-steward to William, ninth earl of Derby.

† See Dr. Kuerden's MSS. in the Chetham College Library, Manchester. vol ii p. 607.

‡ On the opposite side of Church Street is another ancient edifice, now converted into a tavern, and known as the "General Wolfe," prior to which it bore the sign of the "Spotted Leopard." It still, however, retains its name of "Cromwell's Lodgings;" and here the future Protector is traditionally said to have resided for three days, when in August, 1648, he was in pursuit of the Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton. At Warrington he captured all their foot, to the number of 4000, which had been deserted by the cavalry. It is further asserted, and with every probability of truth, that Cromwell attended divine worship at the ancient Dissenting (Baptist) Chapel at Hill-Cliff, a mile and a half distant from Warrington, and that one of his soldiers occupied the pulpit upon this occasion. (*See the accompanying Plate.*)

§ See Ormerod's "*Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*," (Chetham Society's Transactions, vol. ii. p. 63.)



WARRINGTON CHAPEL at HILL CLIFF near WARRINGTON.

At the close of the letter, Jesland states that "it is reported by some about the Earle of Derbie, that he is very melancholy and much perplexed about that unadvized course that he hath run, for the last Thursday* at Warrington, at dinner, he said he was born under an unfortunate planet, and that he thought some evill Constellation reigned at the time of his birth, with many such other words of passion and discontent."

But although harassed, and depressed in mind by his ill success at Manchester and at Birmingham, and perhaps most of all by the unkind and undeserved mistrust of his Sovereign, the Earl of Derby was not the less zealous in the cause of his royal master. During the winter months of 1642–43 we find him personally engaged, and with somewhat better fortune, in the capture of Blackburn, Lancaster, and Preston. From Bolton, it is true, he was twice repulsed, and suffered an inglorious defeat at Lowton, but we cannot feel surprise at these reverses, if the Earl's military *materiel* were not more efficient than the following extract from a Puritan pamphlet† of the time would lead us to imagine. "We" (the Parliamentarians,) "have fortified Northwich with trenches, sconces, &c. for the securitie of all those parts which have been much infested by the Commission of Array, and the Ea. of Darbie's forces at Warrington; and we have often sallied out for the clearing of those parts which were most in danger. One place above others hath been extremely assaulted, Mr. Brookes of Norton, a neere neighbour to the Ea. Rivers, against which they brought their cannon, with many horse and foot, and fell to batter it on a Sabbath day. Mr. Brooke had 80 men in the house; we were careful he should lack no powder; with all other things master Brooke furnished them fully. A man upon his tower, with a flag in his hand, cryede them aime whilst they discharged their cannon, saying 'wide, my lord on the right hand;—now wide two yards on the left; —two yards over, my lord, &c.' He made them swell for anger, when they could not endanger the house, for they only wounded one man, lost 46 of their owne, and their canonier; then in divelish rage they burnt a barne, and corn worth (as it is valued) a thousand pound, set fire to another, but more execution was made on the man that attempted it, than the barne, for he was blinded in fireing the barne, and so found wandering in the fields, and confest he had five pound given him for his service. After this they

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* This would fall on November 24th, 1642.

† "Cheshire's Successe, London, March 25, 1642," reprinted in Ormerod's "History of Cheshire, vol. i. p. xxxvii.

plundered Mr Brooke's tenants, and returned home with shame and hatred of all the country."

During the same winter (1642–43), the Earl of Derby is said to have strongly fortified the town of Warrington, but in what its military defences consisted we have no record. In a Puritan tract entitled "Manchester's Joy for Derbie's Overthrow, 1643," it is styled "a town of great strength:"—the "outer walls" of the town are expressly mentioned by Edward Burghall in his Diary entitled "Providence improved"*—and Mr Ormerod in his "Civil War Tracts," already referred to, speaks of mud walls being thrown up at Warrington, as at Manchester, Bolton, Liverpool, and Lancaster. Moreover, one of the *precepts* found at Houghton Green, requires the attendance of six carts with horses and drivers, and of ten able bodied men with spades, for the repair of the works of Warrington garrison, after the Siege which is the subject of our present enquiry. They cannot, however, have been of great extent, since they have left no obvious remains to the present day.

But be this as it may, the possession of Warrington was considered of such importance by Sir William Brereton,† one of the most successful of the Parliamentarian leaders, that in the spring of 1643, being at Northwich, in Cheshire, he requested Col. Assheton‡ to send him 500 of the Manchester forces from Wigan to aid his own troops in gaining the town of Warrington from the Earl of Derby. On the morning of Easter Monday, the 3rd of April, a small advanced body of Brereton's forces, under the command of Captain John Arderne, of Alvanley, approached the town on the Cheshire side. The Earl of Derby, perceiving that their force was small, at once sallied out to attack them, and encountering them on Stockton Heath, about a mile to the south of Warrington, a severe engagement took place, in which many of the Parliamentarians fell. The timely arrival of Sir William Brereton, with the remainder of his forces, alone prevented a total rout, for the Earl judged it best to draw off his troops, retiring to the town

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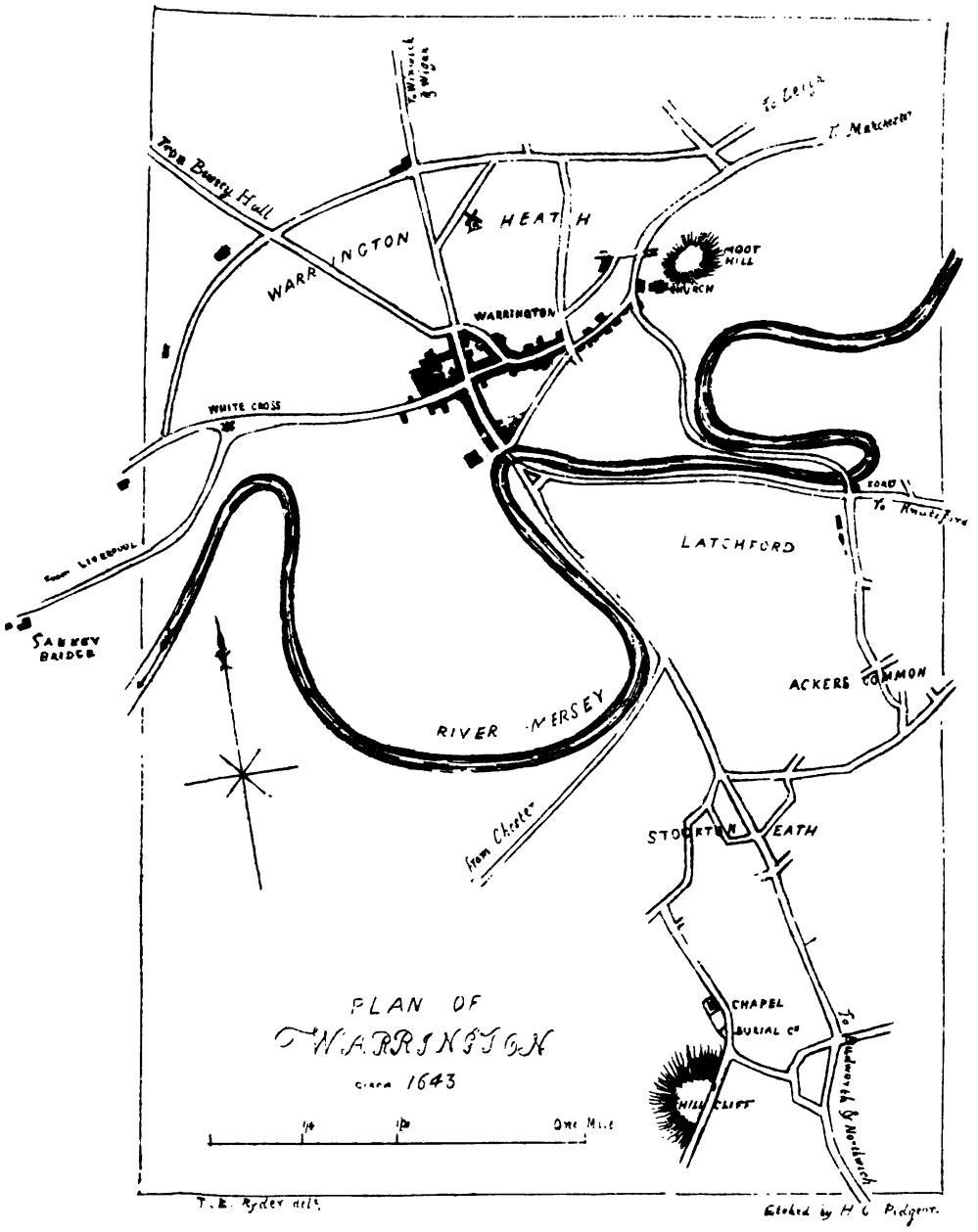
* Edward Burghall was Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich, Cheshire. A manuscript copy of his Diary "*Providence Improved*," 36 pages folio, is in the British Museum, (Add. MSS. 5851, p. 116.) and from this the quotations made use of in this paper have been carefully copied.

† Sir William Brereton, of Honford, Cheshire, baronet; a deputy lieutenant for the County of Lancaster.

‡ Colonel Ralph Assheton, of Middleton, Lancashire. He had captured Wigan in conjunction with Sir John Seaton, on the Saturday previous, April 1st.


To Leigh
To Manchester
Top & Bottom Hall
HEATH
WARRINGTON
MOOT HILL
CHURCH
WARRINGTON
WHITE CROSS
ROAD
To Runcorn
From LIVERPOOL
LATCHFORD
SANKEY BRIDGE
ACKERS COMMON
RIVER MERSEY
From Chester
STOCKTON HEATH
CHAPEL
BURIAL Co
HILL CLIFF
To Knutsford & Northwich
PLAN OF
WARRINGTON
circa 1643
¼
½
One Mile
T. E. Ryder delt.
Etched by H. C. Pidgeon.

with many prisoners, and several of the enemy's colours. Under the guise of these colours the Earl contrived at four o clock in the afternoon of the same day, to push forward a considerable body of his men, who crossing the Mersey at the ancient Ford at Lachford, *(See the adjoining Plan,)* advanced, by the route of Ackers Common, unsuspectedly upon the right flank of the Cheshire troops, and he himself leaving the town by the bridge and causeway at Wilderspool, assaulted them so furiously in front, that with trifling loss on his own part, he completely routed them, as the account states "with greate slaughter and little labor."

It is traditional that such of the Puritans as fell in the battle of Stockton Heath, many in number, were interred in the burial-ground of the Chapel, already alluded to at Hill-Cliff. Others, probably disaffected Churchmen, were buried at Budworth, five miles south of Stockton Heath, as we find in the register of burials there, the following entries.—

1643. *Aprill* 6. *Thomas ffirth de Barnton gardianus qui apud Stockton Heath in prœlio occisus fuit tertio die mensis Aprilis & sepul. sexto die Aprilis.*

6. *Johannes Ameris de Barnton constabularius qui prœlio eodem die & loco & sepult. sexto die ejusdem Aprilis.*

16. *Thomas fil. Thomæ Yewley sepul. decimo sexto die Aprilis.*

20. *Thomas Yewley de Aston qui periit ob vulneribus acceptis apud Stockton Heath tertio die Aprilis sepult. vicesimo die ejusdem mensis.*

22. *Ricardus Ridgway de Budworth qui periit apud Stockton Heath tertio die.*

In connection with the period we are now considering, another interesting tradition is current amongst the congregation who worship at Hill-cliff Chapel. It runs thus :—That during the Civil War, a man and his wife, members of their congregation, suffered martyrdom (implying, I presume, for their religious tenets,) by order of " a person high in authority at Warrington." I have not yet been successful in finding any written record of this occurrence, but it is singularly in accordance with a passage in " Lancashire's Valley of Achor,"* printed in the same year (1643), in which it is stated that the Royalists at Warrington killed " a godly man and his wife in their own house," which was in the adjacent country.

Notwithstanding the severe defeat sustained by Sir William Brereton at

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* Reprinted in Ormerod's " Civil War Tracts," (*Cheth. Soc.*) p. 138.

Stockton Heath on the 3rd of April, he appears still to have remained in the neighbourhood of Warrington, for on the Wednesday following (April 5th) we find him effecting a junction on the Lancashire side of the Mersey* with the expected troops from Wigan, as I believe, under the command of Colonel Richard Holland of Heaton. At 4 p.m. on this day the conjoined forces, in the description of Burghall, "beset the Town about, and fiercely assaulted it, having gotten Sankey Bridge, a fair House of one Mr. Bridgman's, and some of the outer Walls, and within a short space of Time were likely to have the whole; which the Earle perceaving set the middle of the Town on Fire, protesting hee would burn it all ere they should have it; which the Parliament Forces perceaving (seeing the Fire still increasing,) to save it from utter desolation withdrew their Forces after they had been there 3 dayes and more, and so departed for that time." I may remark in passing that the "fair House of one Mr. Bridgman's" mentioned in the above extract is still standing, though degraded to the rank of a tavern, the "Black Horse," at Sankey Bridges, about a mile from the town. The initials and a date, "R. B. 1632," are still visible on an oak beam in the front of the house.—(*See the adjoining Plate.*) Its occupant at the time of the Seige of Warrington was Edward Bridgman, a royalist, who in 1647 compounded with the Parliament for his estate by a fine of one hundred pounds.

There are several other sources of information relative to this first assault upon Warrington,† but as the second volume of the Chetham Society's Transactions has rendered them of easy reference, I shall introduce one

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* At what point Sir William Brereton crossed the Mersey upon this occasion is matter of conjecture. There is no ford westward of Warrington except Hale, and this was probably the route taken. He was certainly acquainted with it, and aware of its importance in a military view, for in May, 1645, when the Royalists under Rupert and Maurice had reached Whitchurch on their way to attack Liverpool, he thus writes to the Parliamentary commanders at Warrington:—"*Gentlemen,—I am very glad to heare that you have taken soe good course to secure Hale Ford and Ronchorne, wch. I conceive must be by casting up some sconces, yt I believe may doe. Ye enemy I am assured is at Whitchurch &c. &c.*"

† See "Mercurius Aulicus," a royalist newspaper published at Oxford 1642-45.—"Manchester's Joy for Derbie's Overthrow, 1643."—"Lancashire's Valley of Achor is England's Doore of Hope, 1643."—Colonel John Rosworm's "Good Service hitherto ill rewarded, 1649." With the exception of the first, from which extracts only are given, the whole are reprinted in Mr. Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts." Of the last it may be necessary to state that Mr. Robson, of Warrington, in the 21st vol. of the "Gentleman's Magazine," has clearly identified the narrative of proceedings which succeeded the capture of Wigan with those which occurred *at the first assault upon Warrington, and not upon Bolton*, as Rosworm assigns them, "to the best my remembrance."

The BLACK HORSE TAVERN, SANKEY BRIDGE near Warrington

only in consequence of its not being reprinted in detail. It is to be found in "Vicars' Parliamentary Chronicle," (Brit. Museum) part i., p. 297:—"Much also about the same time, namely the 8 or 10 of this Aprill (1643) lettors out of Lancashire for certain informed that the Erl of Darby that grand and gracelesse patron of Papists in that county, whose forces then were about 1400, at least, in Wiggon in Lancashire, the only or main place of receipt for the Papists treasure and goods, that he was, I say, most soundly beaten by that pious and valiant Commander Colonell Sr. John Seaton and his brave Manchestrians, together with the honest club men of those parts, and that in the fight at this Town, they took about 800 prisoners, 500 more were quite routed, above 1000 armes taken besides ordnance, and other ammunition, treasure, and goods of the Papists, to the value of at least 20000 li. Besides that, the honest-hearted and most courageous Manchestrians (who indeed are the principall men in the kingdome, next to the most famous and renowned Citie of London, that fight most prosperously for God and true religion) with their valiant and faithfull *Germane* Engineer,* rested not thus, but marched on to *Warrington*, a place also of good strength and great resort, which good Town (after a brave and most valiant fight) they also tooke, beat the Papists in the Town, Church and Steple, where they were strongly enclosed, and environed round, and made some batterie against the Church, and make no doubt (by God's assistance) to be masters of it sodainly, and by God's blessing to put an end to the *Lancashire* distractions, especially if the Earl of Derbie himself be there, as it is supposed." In this last conjecture, however, the journalist was premature, for we have sufficient proof that the Earl succeeded in repelling his assailants.

Shortly after the retreat of the Parliamentarian forces, the Earl of Derby appears to have left Warrington. We find him suffering a defeat at Whalley, in Lancashire, on the 20th of April, from whence he retired to his seat of Lathom House, and thence into Yorkshire, where he joined the Queen. The charge of the royalist garrison at Warrington, which was still an object of desire to the leaders of the Parliament, devolved upon Colonel Edward Norris,† and two original *precepts* issued by him, under the conviction that he was speedily to be the object of an attack, were found at Houghton Green.

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* Colonel John Rosworm, spoken of in the preceeding note.

† The Colonel Edward Norris here mentioned was eldest son of William Norris of Speke, Lancashire. In No. III. of the Houghton Green documents he is addressed as "*Captain of the Trained Band for the hundred of West Derby.*" In the "Siege of Lathom" he is designated *Colonel* Norris, and this is the last mention of him in a military character. Mr. Heywood (*Cheth. Trans. v.* ix. *p.* 13) quotes a memorandum from the Sequestrator's books:—"Edward Norris of Speke, a Papist, * * * the above said estate was added to the book of surveighs, the 24th day of June 1652." He died in 1664.

No. X.*

"*Theis are in his Ma'ys name straitly to chardge and comand you and every of you that immediately upon receipt hereof you make diligent search w'thin yo'r Constablarie for p'vision of victualls and oates and hay for the Armie here. And the same forth'th to bringe or cause to be brought unto this towne of Warrington for reliefe of the souldiers, and storeinge the same towne in case any Seige be laid thereunto by the enemie. And hereof faile not at yo'r p'll. Given under my hand this third day of May. Anno Dni* 1643.

To the Constables of Southworth Middleton Houghton Arbury & Croft } E. Norris.

md. to bringe in noe bread, but wheate or meale instead thereof, or pease."

Endorsed on the back thus :—"*Southworth rec'd ye 4th day of May, at* 8 *of ye clocke in ye afternoone.*"

No. XI.

"*Whereas very lately I directed my warrants to severall parts neare adjacent for the calling in of all the able men unto our ayd but finding that the Enemy was retraited was very willing that the said men should return to their owne houses. but nowe soe it is that this day I have received intelligence by* 3 *severall messengers that the Enemy intends very speedily to assault us. Theis are therefore in his Ma't's name straitly to Charg and Comand you that forthwith upon receit hereof you give notice and warning to all the able men w'thin yo'r severall Constableries that are w'thin the age of* 60 *yeares and above the age of* 16 *yeares that they come unto this towne of Warrington with their best armes and p'vision of meate for* 4 *dayes by* 9 *of the clocke.....beinge the* 15*th daye of this instant May; wherein you are not to faile as you honor his Ma'ties service and will answer the contrarie at yo'r utmost p'ille. given under my hand the* 14*th daye of May* 1643.

To the Constables of Hulme, & Winwick, & all the other Constables w'thin the p'ishe of Winwick, and to every of them greeting. } E. Norris.

Se you send me an accompt of this warrant."

Endorsed on the back as follows :—

"*Seene & p'suned* (sic) *by the Cunstables of Winwick & hulme.*

Seene & p'used by the Constable of Newton.

Seene & p'used by the Con'bles of haidoke, and speedilye sent away to the Con'bles of Golborne.

Seene & p'used by the Constable of Goulborne the 15*th day between* 3 *&* 4 *of the clocke in the afternoone and speedilye sent unto Loton.*

Seene by the Constable of Lawton about 7 *of ye clocke ye* 15 *day and sent to Kenion with speede.*

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* By referring to the *abstract* at the end of this Paper, it will be seen that the earlier numbers have no immediate reference to "Warrington Siege."

Seene & p'used by the Constable of Kenyon.
Seene & p'used by the Constables of Culchet and sent away.
Seene & p'used by the Constables of Southworth cn Croft and Middleton Houghton cn Arbury & sent away with al speed."

The expectation of Colonel Norris that he was shortly to be the object of an attack by the Parliamentary forces was realised within a few days of the date of his last *precept*. Burghall says,* "at this time Coll. *Brereton* & all his Horse were at *Stafford*, from whence they returned to *Namptwich*, & some considerable Forces out of *Cheshire* marched forth to meet the Forces of *Manchester* at *Warrington*, which happened to be on Whitsunday, May 21. On Monday morning they planted their ordinances and beset the Town round about, played upon it all that week, it being strongly fortified, & the Souldiers behaving themselves very bravely. But Bread & other Necessaries being scarce, upon Saturday they came to a Parley, when it was agreed upon That the Town should be rendered up, & that some Capts. & Comanders should depart with every man his Horse and Pistols, and all the Souldiers to pack away unarmed, and leave all their arms, amunition and Provision behind them, which was done accordingly.

"And upon Trinity Sunday, Sir *George Booth*,† being lord of the Town, entred it, where he was joyfully entertained by the Inhabitants. There were slain on the Parliament side only 4, & 2 of the Town, wherein the mercy of God appeared."

From a contemporary source‡ we learn that the Siege of Warrington was upon this occasion allotted to Colonel Assheton, of Middleton, one of the most active and successful soldiers of the Parliament. His regiment leaving Manchester on Saturday the 20th of May, 1643, appears to have been joined on its route by the Cheshire forces under Sir George Booth of Dunham-Massey, and to have reached Warrington on the day following. On Monday the assault began, lasting until Saturday, May 27th, when the capitulation took place,‖ followed by the formal entry of Sir George Booth

* "Providence Improved," spoken of in a former Note.

† Of Dunham-Massey, in Cheshire. His father had purchased the manor of Warrington in 1628 from Thomas Ireland, of Bewsey. At the period of which we are treating he was in his 77th year.

‡ See "Exceeding Joyfull News out of Lancashire &c, being a True Relation of the Parliament Forces taking the Townes of Warrington and Whitechurch, &c. &c. London, 1643" reprinted in Mr Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts." Mr Robson (Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxi.) has shewn that the passage in this Tract considered to refer to Liverpool, in reality applies to Warrington.

‖ From the extract which follows it would appear that the Church and Steeple were gained at least one day before the Town itself.

on Sunday, May the 28th. During the siege one or two marvellous incidents are recorded in "Lancashire's Valley of Achor"* with the characteristic extravagance of a Puritan historian.

"All this while the cry of oppressed *Warrington* importuned heaven, and compassion wrought in us, and having this far-fetched terrifying assistance,† we entered upon a new and prosperous Voyage the twentieth day of *May:* The three and twentieth of *May* was designed for Fasting and Prayer in Manchester, to meet with the beginning of the enterprize against *Warrington.*

"Whilst the duty was in performing, tidings came of the taking of *Winwick* Church and Steeple, they on the steeple standing on terms, till God sent a deadly messenger out of a fowling-Piece to one of them; also a strong Hall ‡ possessed by professed Romane Catholikes, and stored with Provisions, as if it had been purposely laid in, both for our supply and ease.

"In this *Warrington* Siege so good a friend was God to our faith, that the greatest *Peece* was made unusefull the second time it was in use, and without the terrour of those Idols, the living God gave us the Church and Steeple the 26 of *May*, and that strong Hold upon termes, *May* 28.

"A Providence much to be observed in this Siege was this: One night our men were to work within half musket shot of the Town: It was a great calme, that they could not work, but the enemy would hear: when some went to worke others went to prayers; and God raised a great winde, that took away the noise: a Providence not altogether unlike what I have heard in *Boston*: The Chancellor gave organs to *Boston*; before they breath in that new world, the well-affected pray: after their prayers, a mighty winde forceth its passage into the Church, blows down the organs, brake them and stopt their breath.||

"That which ripened the enemies ruine, was their hard usage of prisoners, and well-affected in the Town, their extreme cruelty in the country, killing a godly man and his wife in their own house, and their professed confidence and pride in their strong Hold, appearing by their hanging out a Flag of Defiance upon the highest chimney.

".....Some recompence God made to tyred Warrington in the shortnesse of the Siege, and security from spoyle, which we charitably made an article of our Peace."

The episode at Winwick Church§ affords me an opportunity of introduc-

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* Reprinted in Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts."

† Six pieces of ordnance, part of those brought to Manchester from Lancaster.

‡ Probably Southworth Hall, one mile east of Winwick Church.

|| It is well known that amongst the early Puritans all instruments of Music for religious purposes were held in abhorence. The *Organ* was especially an object of hatred and derision, and as such was designated by them *"a box of whistles."*

§ Mr Ormerod (Civil War Tracts) assigns the 23rd of May for the attack on Winwick Church, but as its capture, according to the above quotation, was announced and acknowledged in prayers at Manchester on that day, it probably took place on the 22nd.

ing another of the documents found at Houghton-Green. It is a *precept* issued apparently by a Committee of Lancashire deputy-lieutenants, sitting at Winwick, or at Bewsey Hall,* near Warrington.

No. XII.

"*These are to will and require & immediately to charge and command you that immediately upon the receipt hereof you summon & require all men and others of ability w'thin your townes to come & appear before us at Winwick upon Fryday next being the 26th. of aye..... clock in the afforenoone to lend & contribute money..... if they will avoid.....of their estats and securinge of their persons .....able men furnished with spads & mattocks & 3 days provisions.....for such service for the.....as shall be appointed them. And further that you gather in y'r.....vittuals for p'vision of our Armie & bringe it & the.....in to morrowe morninge to Beusy hall as you will answer the contrary at your ottermost p'ill.*

Given under our hands this 24th of May 1643.

Constables of Southworth cu Croft.

T. Stanley†
Richard (*Holland ?*)
Peter Egerton
John Houlcrofte

The battery of the Parliamentarians in the Siege of Warrington was beyond doubt placed on the Moot-Hill near the parish church, which tradition asserts was raised higher than its former level for this express purpose.‡ A recent excavation of the hill has strongly confirmed this idea. Amongst other curiosities of an earlier period which have thus been brought to light, are a few which may be referred to the time of the Civil War, and the Siege in 1643. Of these the most remarkable are portions of horses' trappings, the hilt of a sword, and an ancient military spur. Traces of cannon-shot are still visible on the eastern end of the chancel of the church, and to the same cause may be attributed the shattered condition of the tracery of the east window, rendering its removal a few years since necessary. The stained glass, rich and very ancient, both here and in the Boteler

* Bewsey Hall, one mile west of Warrington, was at this time the property of Sir Gilbert Ireland, a parliamentarian, and Lancashire deputy-lieutenant. His chief residence, however, was at Hale, twelve miles west of Warrington.

† Sir Thomas Stanley, of Bickerstaff, Bart:—Richard (*Holland*, of Heaton?):—Peter Egerton, of Shaw: and John Holcroft, of Holcroft esquires, deputy-lieutenants of Lancashire, for the Parliament.

‡ From its distance within half-musket shot of the town, we may venture to suppose the Moot-Hill the precise locality where the besieging soldiers were labouring when there arose the marvellous "*greate winde, that tooke away the noise.*"

Chapel, was at the same time wholly destroyed, as we find a minute of a Vestry Meeting in the year 1647, in which the glass of the windows is ordered to be replaced, and other repairs of the church to be undertaken, since it was then "*far decayed in respect of the long disasters.*"

In conclusion I may remark that the surrender of the town of Warrington by Colonel Norris was expedited by intelligence of the surprise, defeat, and capture of Lord Goring at Wakefield by General Fairfax on the 21st of May. It was followed by a summons to all the Earl of Derby's Lancashire forces to join the Queen at York, and the vanquished garrison of Warrington doubtless joined the retreating body.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing Paper was read before the members of the Historic Society, I have received several transcripts from the "*King's Collection*" in the British Museum, referring to Warrington subsequent to the period of its surrender to the Parliament. These, in conjunction with the remaining portion of the documents found at Houghton Green, I may at a future time, if the Society deem the subject worthy of their notice, embody in a further historical narrative under the title of "*Warrington as a garrison for the Parliament.*"

Along with these I have received the following extract from "Vicars' Parliamentary Chronicle, part i, page 341," which as it has not hitherto been reprinted, and yet contains some incidental particulars connected with "*Warrington Siege*", I may perhaps be excused for introducing in the form of a concluding note:—

"About the beginning of June (1643) came credible and certain information to London out of Lancashire, that the most noble and renouned *Manchesterian Christians*, have taken and fully possessed themselves of the good and strong town in Lancashire, called Warrington, being the last Hold of considerable strength and consequence that the Papists had in all that county: and that now the whole county is fairly purged of those pestilent members that had so infected and infested that countie formerly, and that now it stands wholly for the King and Parliament: And that now they have bravely secured the chief towns and places which the enemy had either had, or were in any danger of them. Those that speak with the least assure, that these noble Manchesterians took at least six hundred prisoners in the winning of the said Warrington, and eight pieces of ordnance, and that now they will be able to spare and send to the most renouned and faithful Lord Fairfax some considerable strength of their Manchester forces for the assistance of their honest friends in the West Riding of Yorkshire."

And here by the way, I desire the Reader to take notice of this further passage of moment, confirmed also by certain intelligence from those parts, namely, "That the Lord Capell (that Court Summer-flea who hath so leapt and skipt up and down to no purpose, God be praised for it,) sent a messenger to assure those in Warrington (while they were beseiged) that if they could hold out but to such a day, he would come to their reliefe, and raise theire seige, but the messenger was apprehended by the way, by Namptwich forces, who thereby understanding of the advance of the aforesaid Lord Capell for that purpose, made out with all speed to White Church, and sodainly surprised that Town, slue about an hundred and fiftie malignants, took forty prisoners, some of them men of eminencie and good worth, took five hundred armes besides Ammunition of Powder, and Bullets and Match, and manned and fortified the town bravely for the King and Parliament, and so wiped the Lord Capell's nose both of his poore expectation of relieving Warrington, and hereby also sent him to seek another lodging where he could get it: by this losse of White Church unto noble and victorious Sir William Breuerton and his valiant forces of Namptwich."

APPENDIX.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE CIVIL WAR DOCUMENTS FOUND AT HOUGHTON GREEN, NEAR WARRINGTON, IN MAY, 1851.

I.—A *Petition* from the Inhabitants of Southworth & Croft, Midleton, Houghton and Arbury to Captain Coney (*of Ditton, Lancashire*) complaining that Captain Holcroft of Holcroft had favoured the township of Culcheth by imposing upon Southworth &c. an unfair proportion of men for the train-band.

II.—A similar *Petition* to Mr. William Alcock (*of Prescot, Lancashire*).

III.—A *Report* upon the above *Petition* by Mr. Alcock to Edward Norris, esquire, Captain of the trainband for the hundred of West Derby, disclaiming his connection with the above unfair imposition. Dated at Prescott Jan. 6 1642.

IV.—A *Precept* signed "*Richard Astley*" to the constables of Southworth & Croft, Middleton & Arbury, in pursuance of a precept from Henry Ogle esquire, (*of Whiston, Lancashire,*) directing an assessment to raise £21. 15. 0. imposed upon those townships. Dated 14 Jan. 1642.

V.—A *Precept* from Sir Gilbert Hoghton to the constables of Houghton cu Middleton, commanding them to summon all the able men of the township, between the ages of 16 and 60, to appear with their best arms on the 13th of February following at Wigan. Dated at Wigan 10 Feb. 1642.

VI.—A *Precept* signed "*Richard Asby*" under the authority of a warrant from James, earl of Derby, addressed to the petty constables in the several townships of the parish of Winwick, requiring them, in consequence of the non-payment of the various assessments imposed upon the county, to give warning to four sufficient men in each township to appear before the earl of Derby on the 27th of February following, at the house of Hugh Lathom in Ormskirk. Dated 25 Feb. 1642.

VII.—A *Precept* signed "*Richard Astley*," under the authority of a warrant from the earl of Derby, to the petty constables of the several townships of Culcheth, Southworth cu Croft, Middleton & Arbury, ordering an assessment to raise £65. 5. 0, to be paid upon the 14th of March following at the house of Hugh Lathom in Ormskirk. Dated 9 Mar. 1642.

VIII.—A *Precept* signed "*R. Molyneux*," to the constables of Southworth & Croft, Midleton, Houghton & Arburie, requiring them at sight thereof, to bring into the town of Newton (*Lancash:*) 20 bushels oats, 104 stone of hay, 5 *threave* of straw, and £2. 10. 8. in money "*for my lord mollinex.*" Dated at Newton 23 Apr. 1643.

IX.—A *private note*, without date, intimating that "*lord muleynex's*" precept to Culcheth demanded 30 bushels of oats, 180 stone of hay, and £4. 10. 0. in money.

X.—A *Precept* from Colonel Edward Norriss. (*Given at length in the preceding Paper*).

XI.—Another *Precept* from the same. (*Given at length with the last*).

XII.—A *Precept* from Sir Thomas Stanley, and Richard (*Holland?*), Peter Egerton, and John Houlcrofte, esquires. (*Given at length with the two preceding*).

XIII.—A *Precept* from Sir Thomas Stanley, and Peter Egerton and John Houlcrofte, esquires, to the constables of Southworth, Croft, &c. ordering an assessment on the township for £10 in pursuance of an order from the deputy-lieutenants of Lancashire, "*for paying of souldiers, and necessary defence of the same* (county) *in theis dangerous & distracted tymes.*" Dated at Warrington 11 July 1643.

XIV.—A *Precept* from Colonel John Booth, governor of Warrington, and Peter Egerton, esquire, to the constables of * * * Houghton & Arbury, requiring "*sixe good and able teames w'th Cartes & three horses in each Carte, together with an able driver. And tenn sufficient and able workmen of bodie to worke w'th spads for the doinge & p'forminge of such service in an aboute the repayre of the workes belonginge to the s'd garrison as shall be severally Imposed on them.*" Dated at Warrington 14 Sep. 1643.

XV.—A *Receipt* from Richard Abraham, of Warrington, treasurer appointed to receive the sums imposed upon the townships, to Thomas Sargeant, constable, for monies received in Sep. Oct. and Dec. 1643. Dated at "Warrington Garrison."

XVI.—*A Petition* from Thomas Sargeant to the governor of Warrington for relief from further serving the office of constable for Houghton, and that his next neighbour (apparently a female,) may be compelled according to ancient custom, "*to send her son or any other to give content to the towne and exacut the office of a constable.*" No date.

XVII.—An *Account* of monies paid for provision, forage, and cartage during a year by a constable, (Thomas Sargeant.) No date.

XVIII.—A *Power of Attorney* from Colonel John Booth, governor of Warrington, to enable Robert Burley, "*his servant, now resident in London,*" to receive £1000 from the Committee of Revenue, for the payment of soldiers in the garrison of Warrington. Dated 24 Nov. 1645.

XIX.—A *Precept* signed "Henry Byrom" to the constables of Winwick with Hulme, Newton, Culcheth, Southworth cu Croft, Middleton, Houghton & Arbury, ordering assessments, by virtue of an ordinance of parliament, to raise the sum of £45 within the said township. Dated 8 Feb. 1645.

XX.—The same to the same, for raising further sums of money Dated 14 Mar. 1645.

XXI.—A *Precept* signed "*Henry Byrom*" to the constables of Winwick & Hulme, Newton, Culcheth, Southworth, Croft, Hougton, Myddelton & Arbury, "*who have served from the beginning of the present parliament*, requiring them to bring in their accounts to be exhibited to the parliamentary commission, at the house of Geo. Woods in West Darbie, on Friday 24th of April, 1646. Dated 14 Apr. 1646.

XXII.—A *Precept* signed "Henry Byrom" to the constables of Southworth cu Croft, Middleton, Houghton & Arbury, requiring them by virtue of an order of the Committee of the County, dated Aprill 25, 1646 to present to the Committee for Sequestrations at Preston, returns to a series of questions respecting delinquents and their estates. Dated 25 April 1646.

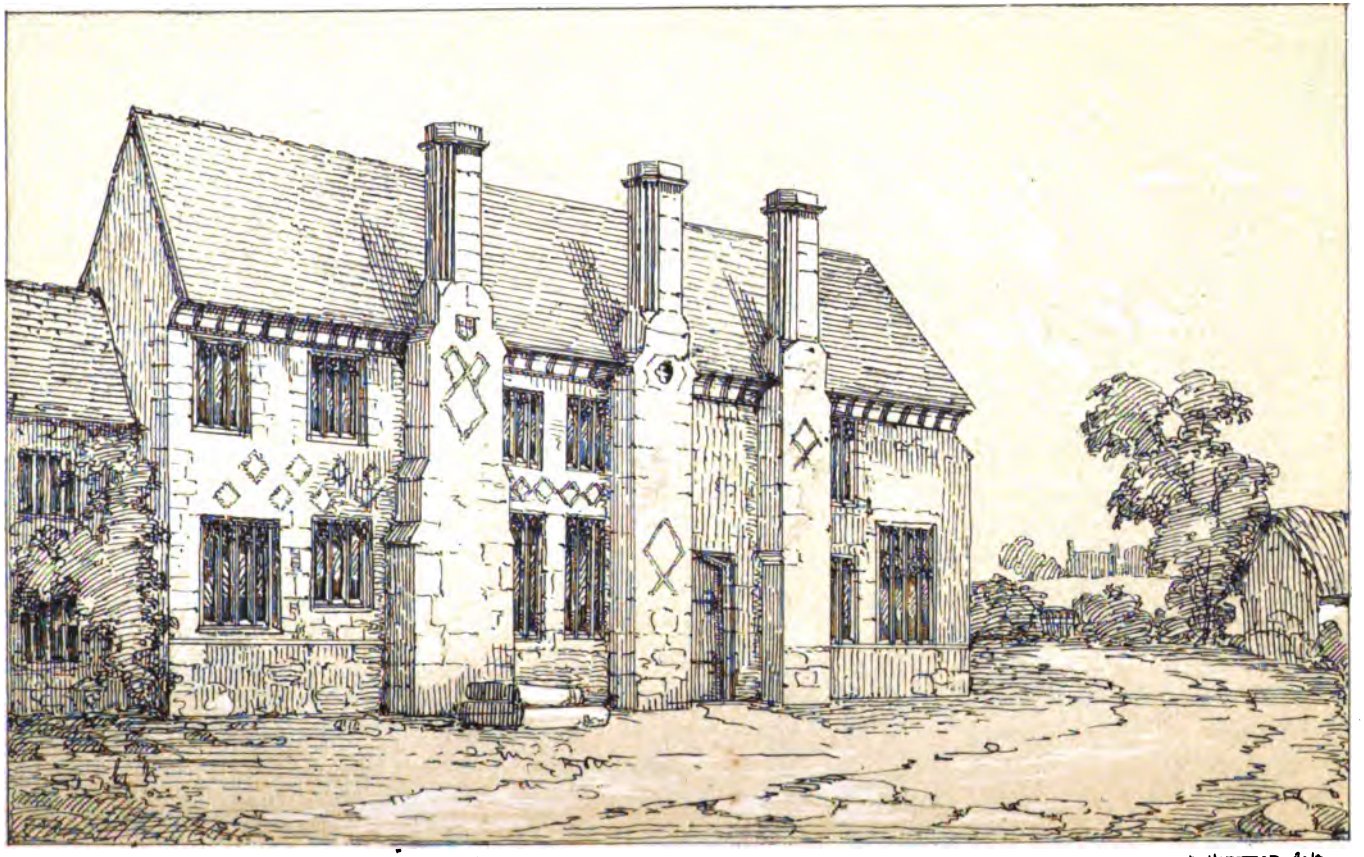
XXIII.—The same to the same, with further questions. Same date.

XXIV.—A *Warrant* from Thomas Holcrofte to the constable of Houghton to bring to Warrington four persons therein named to provide a soldier under his command, or to serve in person. Dated 29 May, 1646.

XXV.—A *Warrant* from the same to the same, empowering him by virtue of Colonel Booth's order, to receive from Jane Robinson of Middleton, widow, the sum of 14d. towards the hiring of a soldier. In default of payment to distrain her goods. Dated 29 May 1646.

XXVI.—A *Certificate* from Will. Brocke that John Bordman of Houghton had deposited his musket with him at Warrington. No date.

XXVII—XLV. These documents are in a very dilapidated state. Fortunately they consist chiefly of *Constables' Accounts* and *Rates* for the different Townships mentioned in the foregoing Abstract, and possess comparatively little interest.



A. Hammer delt

Hamlesbury hall Preston

II.—An Account of the Ancient Hall of Samlesbury, near Preston,

By Alfred Rimmer, Esq.

Samlesbury Hall is situated on the highway between Preston and Blackburn, and is almost equally distant from each town. It was formerly surrounded by a moat, but this has been filled up since the formation of the new road, which now passes close by the entrance door. The south front, which faces the road, is built of brick, with stone dressings and basement, it is broken by three bold chimney stacks, and the flues in each are gathered into a single brick shaft, which terminates in a stone capping. On one of the chimneys is a shield, with the armorial bearings of the Southworths, the founders of the mansion. The windows are square-headed, with cinque-foiled lights, and one is filled with rich tracery, of the style which prevailed in Henry VII.'s reign; it is said to have been brought from Whalley Abbey. This front, extending for 105 feet in length, has enrichments of blue brick diamonds, and is surmounted with what was not an uncommon feature in Henry VIII.'s time, a coved cornice of lath and plaster. The remainder of the mansion and the dining-hall—which, though it now appears a back wing, was formerly the centre of a quadrangle—are built of timber and plaster, on a stone basement; the timbers, excepting those in the wing, are arranged in quatrefoils, and have not suffered in the slightest degree from exposure. This dining-hall is lighted by a noble oriel window, and four others besides; it is also built of timber and plaster, but of a totally different character from the rest of the mansion, and probably much earlier. The entrance-hall is 12 feet 10 inches in height, and has a black oak ceiling, with moulded beams, and a Tudor arched fire-place. To the right is a parlour, which has been somewhat modernised, but still retains its oak ceiling and latticed window; to the right of this parlour again is the ancient domestic chapel, which is lighted by the Gothic window above mentioned, and has an oak ceiling, which is plastered under.

On the left of the entrance-hall is a large parlour, which retains more of its ancient character than any room yet noticed. The ceiling is similar to that of the other rooms, but the fire-place is entire. It measures 9 feet by 4 feet 6 inches, and is enriched on the frieze with six Gothic panels, and two

shields. There is also an inscription—"Thomas Sothworth, Knight," and the date 1555.

The dining-hall is one of the most ancient and interesting rooms in the county. The open principals which support the roof are of oak, and of great strength, measuring in some parts 12 by 18 inches. One quarter of this strength of pine would be sufficient, and more would not probably now be used. The king posts are crossbraced and intersected by horizontal ties, so that there are four pieces of wood where one would suffice. The whole house is timbered in this prodigal manner; some of the pieces it would be now almost impossible to equal in Lancashire.

Dr. Whitaker considers this room to be as early as the reign of Edward III., and as his short essay on Domestic Architecture is probably one of the most masterly ever written, I shall quote his own words. In speaking of the peculiar marks by which the oldest specimens may be known, he says—"The whole structure has been originally a framework of wood independent of walls, the principals consisting of deep flat beams of massy oak naturally curved, and of which each pair seems to have been sawed out of the same trunk. These spring from the ground and form a bold gothic arch overhead; the spars rest upon a wall plate, and that is again sustained by horizontal spars grooved into the principals. It was then of no importance that such erections consumed great quantities of the finest ship timber, and indeed the appearance of one of these rooms is precisely that of the hull of a great ship inverted and seen from within. Specimens of this most ancient style in perfection are the old manor house at Samlesbury, and the Lawsing Stedes barn at Whalley. In the reign of Henry the Fourth we have a deviation from this primitive mode; there the principals have two springers, one from the ground, another from a rude capital about 8 ft. from the ground, but the square of the building is considerably raised, and the arch encroaches less upon the appartment within. The style of architecture in wood evidently kept pace with that in stone, and when in the time of Henry VII. the arch became broader and more depressed in the centre, we have a corresponding change in our ancient timber buildings. Wooden posterns still descended to the ground, but they were now become perpendicular and square and fluted. From the top of these, elegant and ornamental springers received horizontal roof-beams, while all was still open to the roof above, and the rafters continued to rest on a wall-plate. Thus the idea of a complete frame independently of the walls was still preserved; but the low basement storey of stone may still be observed in some of our most ancient buildings, advanced to the square though the cross-pikes are generally of wood. This precisely describes the Hall of Little Mitton and another noble specimen of somewhat later date, the west wing of Samlesbury Hall, built by Sir Thos. Southworth, in 1532, of which the outer wall, however, is of brick. The wood employed in the

construction of this last mansion, must almost have laid prostrate a forest, and while the principal timbers are carved with great elegance, and the compartments of the roof painted with figures of saints, while the outsides of the building are adorned with profile heads of wood, cut in bold relief within huge medallions, it is curious to observe that the inner doors are without lock or panel, and have always opened like modern cottages with a latch and a string. It is moated round, and has contained three sides of a quadrangle, the centre one of which, containing the great hall, a noble specimen of most rude and massy woodwork. Though repaired by Sir Thomas Southworth, in 1832, whose name it bears, it is of high antiquity, probably not later than Edward III."

It may almost be doubted whether this room is of such high antiquity as the time of Edward III. It is somewhat similar in its character, and perhaps scarcely so rude as one formerly standing at Radcliffe Hall, and engraved in Whittaker's Whalley, and this was built in the reign of Henry IV. This hall is 35 feet in length, and rather more than 26 broad; at one end is a gallery for minstrels, as was usually the case in ancient dining halls, separated by a screen, and raised about 10 feet to the ground. The timbers of the screen are carved with great beauty and richness; there is an inscription, in Old English characters, which has always been read, "Thomas Southworth, Baronete," but as the word which was read Baronete occurs before Thomas Southworth's name, and knight is writen very distinctly after, it is not probable that this reading is correct; moreover, it is not like Baronet, except in the number of the letters, and the initial. As this inscription is later than the room, and as various other parts of the house are of the same age, it might be read thus: *Anno Domini Mccccc xxxii, Bono Statu, Thomas Southworth xv.* The next panel, which contained the remainder, has been destroyed, and when complete the inscription may have stated that Sir Thomas restored the hall, in 1532, to a good condition, which both Baines and Whitaker state to have been the case.

The fire-place in this room is arched, and very large, measuring 6 feet 9 inches in height, and 14 feet 9 inches in breadth. The passage under the screen is now blocked up; it must at one time have led to the kitchens and buttery hatch, in accordance with the usual arrangement of houses of that period.

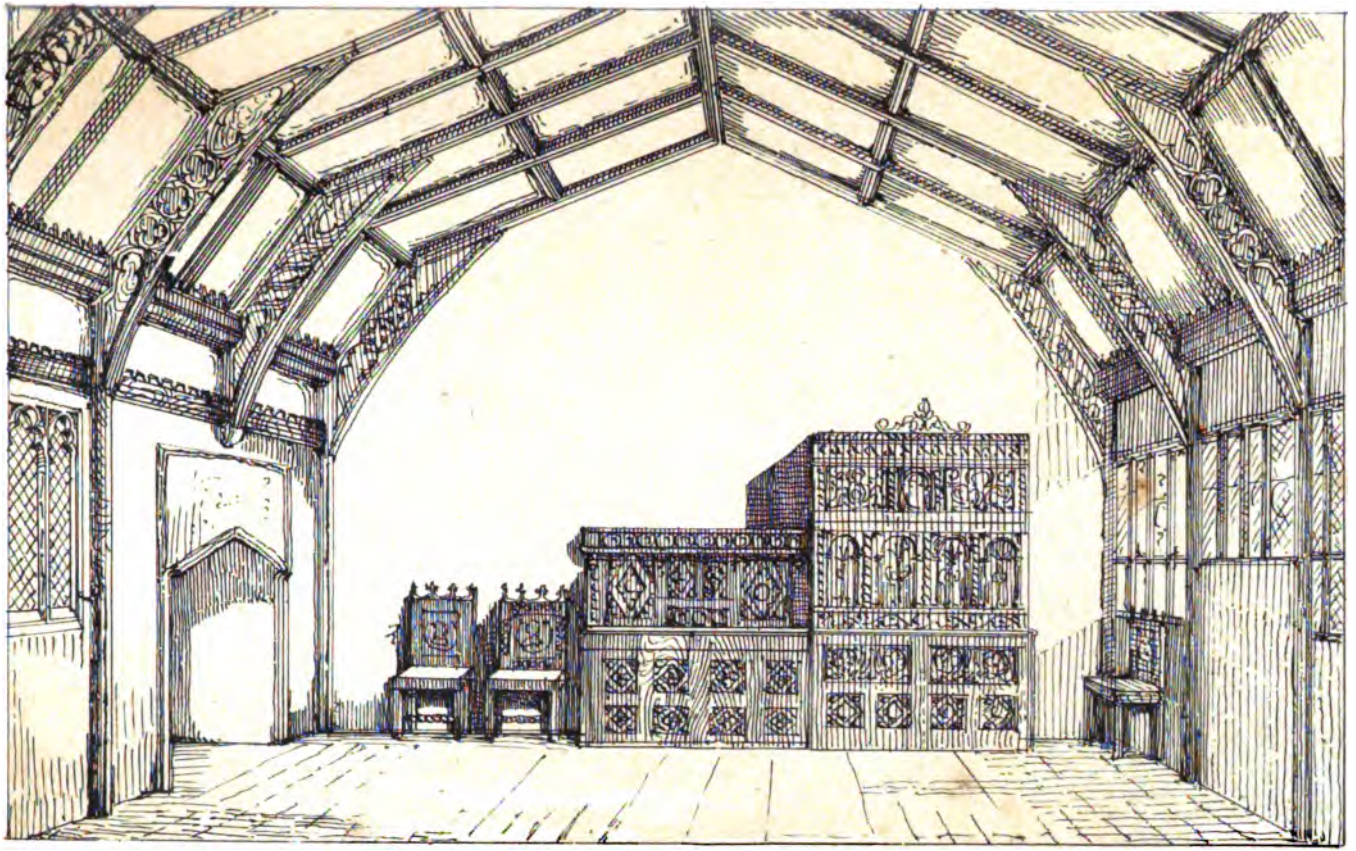
The staircase is remarkably mean for so large a mansion. It leads to a room with a hexagonal ceiling, corresponding with which, and divided by a partition, is a similar apartment, which appears to have been a continuation of the same room; this was probably the gallery. Each chamber has a

fire-place, but two fire-places were not uncommon in large galleries. The spandrils which support the ceiling rise from the ground on upright posts, and are enriched with Gothic tracery, of various devices, and most exquisite beauty. Though this room is only a menial's bed-room, it contains some of the old oak furniture, with its quaintly carved panels, and brass handles. The length was upwards of 50 feet.

The flooring boards run parallel to the joists, "disdaining," as Whitaker says, "to be indebted to them for support," though the doors have now, in most instances, been furnished with handles and locks, and the figures of saints, before spoken of, have disappeared.

Samlesbury Hall is in a state of high preservation, and the timber, even in the most ancient part, is as sound as it ever was. The walls are perfectly true, and the glass in most of the windows is entire. The doors do not even need re-hanging, nor does the brick-work require to be pointed; and in all probability, if the Southworth family existed to the present day, it would still be their family residence; but at present it presents a sad picture of the mutability of human affairs, and is now occupied as a road-side inn of the meanest description, and a great part of it lies useless. The entrance hall, with its lofty ceiling and mullioned windows, is a bar parlour; and the ancient dining hall, which has so often rung with the revelry of the first gentlemen of the county, is quite deserted, modern partitions divide some of its finest rooms, so as to render it difficult, in many instances, to discover the original plan of the mansion.

It has been asked why ancient houses endure so much better than modern ones; and the cause is well worthy of consideration; for the same principle which prevented the mansion from decay often preserved its inhabitants from disease. It now appears to be the great object to exclude the air from habitations, and the consequence is that dry rot is a common visitant; and where that fatal disease has once set in, the whole building must soon fall to decay. A nobleman in the south of England not long ago added a wing to his house, but owing to the timber being too confined it was attacked with dry rot, and in a short time property to the amount of £30,000 was destroyed. Our ancestors were always careful that their houses should be well ventilated; currents of air were admitted in the broad space between the wainscot and wall, and the ample fire-place always afforded a ventilating shaft for the room. Oak is more durable than



End of Gallery. Samlesbury Hall. Preston.

A. Rimmer. delt.

pine, it is true; but even pine, if properly used, will last for centuries. In some of the ancient Scotch castles, the fir which was used for the roof is quite sound, and when such a building is pulled down the timber is frequently made into articles of furniture. The roof of old St. Peter's, at Rome, which was also constructed of pine, and had stood for nearly ten centuries, was quite sound and entire

Samlesbury derives its principal notoriety from having been the seat of one of those tragedies of superstition, which so often sully the pages of Lancashire history. In the year 1612, three females were taken at Samlesbury to be tried before Sir Ed. Bromley, Knt., for witchcraft; their names were Jane and Ellen Byerly and Jane Southworth. No fewer than eleven others were taken up at the same time, on a similar charge. The chief of the company with whom they were supposed to be allied was Elizabeth Southerns, widow, *alias* Dame Demdike. She appears to have been a most dangerous neighbour, and to have held repeated communications with the evil one; indeed, she had placed her residence at his disposal for a *fête*, at which an initiation took place. As this was considered a sort of model, by Gaule and other authorities on witchcraft at that time, and as they have left us an account of the proceedings, it will perhaps be interesting to learn what took place.

The president was the author of evil, sitting on a throne of infernal majesty in the form of man, and incessantly trying to hide his cloven feet with his gown, but unsuccessfully. The new candidate was presented to him, and after doing him homage by kissing him, prayed to be admitted to the order. She was then rebaptized in the name of the devil, who, while this part of the ceremony was going on, assiduously scratched with his long nails, that part of the forehead which had received the sign of the cross in baptism, and inserted a mark of his own. He then taught them to make an ointment out of live infants, stolen from the cradle, which were to be boiled to jelly. Half of this preparation they were to drink, and with the other they were to besmear themselves. They then renounced all former vows, and devoted themselves entirely to his service, attended all his conventicles, nocturnal meetings, and sacrifices. Besides this, there are other charges of equal weight and probability against Demdike. She was convicted of murder by witchcraft on one or two occasions, and her case seemed quite hopeless, when death put a timely end to the poor creature's sufferings,

and saved her from the hands of the executioner. Her compeer and rival, Dame Cattox, or Chatterbox, had been guilty of the unnatural crime of chattering in her walk. Considering that she was a woman of four-score, she could hardly expect pardon; for in those times, it was no uncommon thing to punish with death what we should now pity as the infirmity of old age. But the clerk of the court considered her personal appearance to be against her, and she, with nine others, were condemned by Sir E. Bromley, and executed at Lancaster. In passing sentence, he gravely told them that they were indebted to the court for the care with which each case had been investigated, and that nothing had been adduced against them but matters of fact! With regard to the Samlesbury witches, they had a happier fate; the only material evidence being that of Grace Sowerbutts, who, it afterwards appeared, had been induced by a Romish priest to make false charges.

For the following information concerning the manor of Samlesbury, I am indebted to Baines' Lancashire:—

"Gospatrick de Samsbury, the first known Lord of this Manor, was living at the latter end of the reign of Henry II. His descendant, William, left three coheiresses, by whose marriages the estate was conveyed into three families; Margery married to Robert Haunton, and Cecily to Sir John D'Ewyas, who became Lord of Samlesbury. Both were married in 43 Henry III. when a charter of free warren in Samlesbyrie was granted to them and their husbands, and to their sister Elizabeth. This was the youngest daughter, who married Sir Robert de Holland, Knight, 10 Edward I. Sir Robert, their son, was founder of the priory of Holland, and was for a time involved in the ruin of his patron, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. The estates of all the partizans of that nobleman were confiscated, and among the rest the manors of Samlesbury, Holland and others. In 1 Edward III. Feb. 14, the Sheriffs were directed to seize into the King's hands all the confiscated estates, in order that they might be restored to their owners. In the same year Robert de Holland and Matilda his wife complain, by petition, that the King's writ of 2nd Dec. has not been obeyed by the Sheriffs, and they pray for an Exchequer certification of their property now in the King's hand. The certificate was granted, on which Sir Robert was opposed in council by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who alleged that the writs directed to the Sheriffs for livery of lands in his possession were contrary to form and law, and he prayed that they might be revoked. The proceedings in this case are at great length; but Sir Robert was finally reinstated: and the inquisition on the death of his son, Sir Robert, enumerates half the manor of Samlesbury, one-sixth of the manor of Harewood, and one-fourth of the manor of Over Derwent. This property was inherited by Matilda de Holland, who married Sir John Lovell, of Thorp Water, to whom livery of her lands was made in 47 Edward III. on the

death of her grandfather, whose sole heiress she was. On the death of their son, Sir John Lovell, William, Lord Lovell, of Barnel, had livery of the lands of his inheritance, both by the father and his grandmother Matilda, in 1 Henry VI. This baron occurs in a manuscript feodary as holding with Richard Sotheworth the Manor of Samlesbury of the Duke of Lancaster, by soccage and the service of 38s. 8d. per annum at the feast of St. Egidius of Giles. The descent of the Manor of Samlesbury, thus far, is exhibited in a scheme of alliances in Lord Luffield's manuscript volume of pedigrees."

The pedigree of the Southworths can hardly possess sufficient general interest for the Society, and as it may be found in Baines, vol. iii, page 351, beyond which I possess no information, it has not been transcribed.

From the Southworths, Samlesbury Hall and half of the manor passed into the hands of the Braddylls, who purchased it in 1677 for about £2000; and in 1851 it became the property of John Cooper, Esq., of the Oaks, Penwortham, an opulent spinner.

It would be useless, in a society like the present, to enlarge upon the propriety of preserving all these old mansions with care: they are living monuments of the past; and when one black and white farm-house is destroyed, a national record is lost that can never be restored.

THIRD MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 8th January, 1852.

JOHN MATHER, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Gentlemen were read for the first time.

The following were duly elected:—

1. *Honorary Member.*

Monsieur de Perthes, President of the Societé d'Emulation, of Abbeville.

2. *Ordinary Members.*

T. Langton Birley, Carr Hall, Kirkham.
Rev. Colin Campbell, M.A., St. Thomas's, Lancaster.
Thomas Robert Wilson Ffrancis, Rawcliffe Hall, Garstang.
John Sharp, Dalton Square, Lancaster.
Rev. Robert Simpson, M.A., F.S.A., Skerton, Lancaster.
John Torr, Eastham.
William Pilkington Watson, Rock Ferry.
Edward G. Willoughby, Marine Cottage, Tranmere.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies.*

Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, for 1851; vol. iii., part 3.

Archæologia Cambrensis, or Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association for January, 1852.

2. From *other* Donors.

Robert Rawlinson, Esq. Report of the Board of Health on the Township of Poulton-cum-Seacombe, Cheshire.

	Report of the Board of Health on the Parish of Havant, Hampshire.
Chas. Roach Smith, F.S.A.	Memoir on the European Colonization of America in Ante-Historic Times, by E. G. Squier, Esq.
Hugh Neill, F.R.A.S.	The Newspaper Press Directory for 1847.
James Kendrick, M.D.	A complete copy of the documents discovered in May, 1851, in taking down an old house at Houghton Green; illustrative of his paper read at the last meeting.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Wm. Atherton, Esq.	Two silver figures found in an ancient burial ground of Indians near Lampa, in the department of Puno, in South America. Both figures are naked and about three inches long, with the hands together on the breast. The male has a cap on the head, but the female's cap seems composed of hair plaited, extending to the waist. Similar figures have been found in the graves of the Aborigines, in and about Cuzco, the former capital of Peru, along with the two-necked bottles, connected by a sort of handle, which were formerly thought to have been peculiar to South America, but which are now found in other countries and even in the tombs of the Egyptians. The figures shew a good knowledge of the art of working silver, and prove that a civilized race, perhaps one of Scandinavian origin, dwelt in the plains of Central America.
	A Tract, entitled "Arte de la Lengua Quichua, 1619.
By Dr. Hume.	Curious plaited cordage from the Fiji Islands.
	Vegetable chain from Fernando Po, manufactured by the "Boobies", in imitation of an English chain cable.
	Leg of an Emu from Australia.
	A curious hand-club from New Zealand.
	Two interesting specimens of modern drawing, manuscript printing, and emblazoning.
By Andrew J. Lamb, Esq.	A specimen of an antique tobacco pipe.

By C. B. Robinson, Esq. An earthen mug of early English pottery, covered with the old smear glaze, and ornamented with a rude design in colours. This mug has been kept in the family at Peel Hall, Cheshire, and is supposed to be the one used by William III. when staying at Peel, in 1690, on his way to Ireland.

By James Kendrick, M.D. A large loaf of "jannack" about eighteen inches in diameter and three inches thick. It is made of oatmeal, and leavened with a portion of the old dough. It was formerly much used by the middle and lower classes in Lancashire.

Miscellaneous Communications.

1. Mr. Brooke, F.S.A., exhibited a Prayer Book which had been used by a congregation of Protestant Dissenters, in Liverpool, usually called Octagonians, from their frequenting the Octagon Chapel, in Temple Court, on the site of which is now the Fire Police Station. "The congregation was peculiar in the circumstance of regularly using a prayer book, of which two or three of the prayers resembled those of the Church of England. The congregation was formed by some members from the Dissenters' Chapels in Key Street and Benn's Gardens, in Liverpool, who preferred the use of a printed book of Prayers and Psalms; and Divine Service was first celebrated in the Octagon Chapel, in 1763. It never had a very numerous body of frequenters. The congregation was broken up in 1776; and the last time that Divine Service was solemnized according to their form in it, was about the 25th of January, in that year, when the Rev. W. Clayton was the minister. The building was then purchased by the Rev. John Plumbe, a clergyman of the Church of England, and it was soon afterwards licenced for Divine Service, according to the rites of the Church of England, and called St. Catharine's Church; and it was afterwards purchased by the Corporation of Liverpool. It was in use as a church from the 25th of March, 1776, until the month of March, 1820, when, being out of repair, and standing in the way of the improvements of the town, it was pulled down by orders of the corporation, and the materials sold. The prayer book belonged to Mr. J. Wyke, a member of the congregation of Dissenters, from whom Wyke's Court, Dale Street, derived its name; and though now it appears to us a most objectionable part of the town to select for a residence, he had a house in which he lived, and what is still more remarkable, a tolerably sized garden there. The court has some years since been pulled down: and the site of the court, the house and the garden, is now covered by the buildings, &c., which were the old Gas Works. The clergymen who held St. Catherine's Church after the Rev. John Plumbe, were the Rev. — Wilmot; the Rev. Brownlow Forde, (afterwards Dr. Forde, the ordinary of Newgate); the Rev. R. K. Milner, and the Rev. Thomas Bold. The two last held it jointly."

2. "MR. BROOKE also exhibited a paper, published by the late Mr. Bryan Blundell, called 'Recollections of Liverpool,' and observed that, amongst other matters, it mentions the often repeated circumstance of eight bags of cotton, from the United States of America, having been detained by an officer of customs, at Liverpool, on the ground that cotton was not grown in the United States. Mr. Brooke stated that a misconception seemed to exist respecting that occurrence, and that much more had been said respecting it than it merited. It merely seems to amount to this: that a blundering and perhaps very young officer, who knew nothing about cotton, had temporarily detained it, (similar mistakes equally remarkable, occasionally occur even now, with respect to other articles,) but the matter appears to have been set to rights as soon as the result of his ignorance was known to his superior officers; and there is not any reason to believe that any reference was made to the Commissioners of Customs, to decide the important point,—whether cotton could be imported from the United States. Mr. Bryan Blundell has given the date of the occurence as 1784, and he was a very high authority, for at that date he was a young man living in Liverpool, and the circumstance was most likely to be retained in his memory, because he afterwards held the responsible office of Jerquer in the customs. Mr. Brooke also mentioned, that he had recently made enquiries on the subject, from his own father, who not only resided in Liverpool at that date, but had resided there from a period anterior to the American Declaration of Independence of 4th July, 1776, and who is yet living in his 91st year, and whose memory is still wonderfully clear. He states that the anecdote is a true one, and that his impression is, that the date given by Mr. Bryan Blundell is about correct, and that for some time after the close of the first American War, though some little cotton was imported into Liverpool from the United States, it was in very insignificant quantities. Mr. Bryan Blundell's account of the transaction is as follows:—'In 1784, an American vessel imported eight bags of cotton into Liverpool, which were seized by one of Her Majesty's officers of customs, as supposing they were not of the growth of America.' If they had not been grown in the United States, it is clear that by our Navigation Laws, they could not be legally imported in an American vessel, into Liverpool. Mr. Brooke added that, though the commerce had never been completely interrupted with the North American States, during the war, yet it probably was so far interrupted, that the blundering officer alluded to might not have heard that cotton had ever been grown there and imported from thence; especially as the peace with that country only took place the year before, (in 1783.) Mr. Brooke also stated, that so far from its importation from the United States being unprecedented, or unknown, prior to 1784, he was prepared to shew that before the first American War, cotton certainly was imported into Liverpool from the British States of North America, afterwards the United States; and also that the list of imports of goods into Liverpool, as long ago as in 1770, contains the particulars of several importations of cotton from thence into Liverpool."

3. DR. HUME noticed that fifteen drinking bowls had been found amid the ruins of Babylon, similar to those exhibited by Mr. M'Quie, at the first meeting of the present session.

PAPERS.

I.—Account of the Grant of Free Warren, by Henry III., to Thomas Gresley, Sixth Baron of Manchester.

By John Harland, Esq.

Before proceeding to the immediate object of this paper, a brief definition of the terms "warren" and "free warren," both etymological and legal, may serve as general preface and introduction. "Warren," in Dutch *waerande*, but by us derived from the Norman French *Garren* or *Garenne*, implying a place kept, (from *garder*, to keep, to preserve), denotes either the franchise or incorporeal hereditament, or the place itself in which, by prescription or grant, the lord of the honour or manor is privileged to keep "beasts and fowl of warren," as hares, coneys, pheasants and partridges. To arrive at the origin of this feudal privilege, we must go back to the conquest. Flintoff, in his "Rise and Progress of the Laws of England and Wales," states that when William the Conqueror ascended the English throne,—claiming it in right of the will of Edward the Confessor, and not obtaining his title from a notion of conquest over the people, which he carefully disclaimed, but from the feudal meaning of the term "conquest," which signifies *acquest* or newly acquired feudal rights,*—he solemnly swore, in the 4th year of his reign, that he would observe the ancient and approved laws of the kingdom, particularly those of Edward the Confessor, and also ordered that twelve Saxons in each county should make inquiry, and certify what those laws were. Subsequently to this, it was solemnly ordained, in a general council, that the laws of Edward, with such alterations and additions as the Conqueror himself had made, should in all things be observed † Thus the system of Saxon or Anglo-British jurisprudence was confirmed as the law of this country; and thenceforth it formed the basis of the common law, upon which every subsequent alteration was to operate. These alterations, therefore, down to the end of the reign of Henry II., or the beginning of that of Richard I. formed, when

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* Even yet, *nova feuda*, or lands taken by purchase, are termed in the Scotch law, "feus of conquest."

† "Hoc quoque præcipimus ut omnes habeant et teneant leges Eduardi regis, in omnibus rebus, adauctis his quos constituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum.—Leg. Gul. Conq. sec. 28.

blended with the previously existing Saxon jurisprudence, the common law of England. Some of these alterations, however, were widely at variance with the letter and spirit of the older Saxon law. One of the most violent alterations of the ancient constitution consisted in the depopulation of whole counties for the purposes of the King's royal diversion; and subjecting both them, and all the ancient forests of the kingdom, to the unreasonable severities of forest laws imported from the Continent, whereby the slaughter of a beast was made almost as penal as the killing of a man. In Saxon times, though no man was allowed to kill or chase the King's deer, yet he might start any game, pursue and kill it, upon his own estate. But the rigour of these new constitutions vested the *sole property* of all the game in the King alone; and no man was entitled to disturb any fowl of the air, or any beast of the field, of such kinds as were specially reserved for the royal amusement of the Sovereign, without express license from the King, by a grant of a chase, or free warren; and those franchises were granted as much with a view to preserve the breed of animals, as to indulge the subject. Out of these now obsolete forest laws sprang the game laws of more modern times; and in one respect the ancient law was much less unreasonable than the modern; for the King's grantee of a chase or warren might kill game in every part of his franchise; but though, until the modification of the law some ten or twelve years ago, a freeholder of less than £100 a year was forbidden to kill a partridge upon his own estate; yet nobody else, (not even the lord of a manor, unless he had a grant of free warren) could do it without committing a trespass, and subjecting himself to an action.

In King John's time, and that of his son Henry III. the rigours of the feudal tenures and the forest laws were so strenuously enforced, that they occasioned many insurrections of the barons or principal feudatories; which at last had this effect, that first King John, and afterwards his son, consented to the two famous charters of English liberties, Magna Charta and Carta de Foresta. The former contained this remarkable clause:—

XLVIII. 39.—"All evil customs of forests and warrens, and of foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, shall immediately be inquired into by 12 knights of the same county; and within 40 days after the inquisition is made, they shall be altogether destroyed by them, never to be restored; provided that this be notified to us before it be done, or to our justiciary, if we be not in England."

The Carta de Foresta was also well calculated to redress many grievances

and encroachments of the Crown, in the exercise of forest law. It is no part of our subject to notice these grievances and oppressions, of which perhaps the most graphic and striking exhibition is to be found in the Forest and Game Law Tales, of Miss Martineau. We return to the more strictly legal definition of Warren and Free Warren.

Scriven, in his work on Copyhold and other Tenures, (4th edition, 1846, vol. ii. p. 660 et seq.) says that "the franchise of free warren is to be claimed only by grants from the crown, or by prescription, which supposes such a grant; and the effect of it is to vest in the grantee a property in such wild animals or inferior species of game as are deemed the beasts and fowls of warren." He adds that "the grant of free warren would seem to give a right to appoint a warrener to preserve the game, who is justified by ancient usage, in killing dogs, cats and vermin."

Manwood, in his "Forest Laws" (cap. 1, sec. 5) says that "a forest is the highest franchise of noble and princely pleasure: next in degree unto it, is a liberty of a frank chase; the diversity between a park and a chase is, that a park is inclosed and a chase always open; the last in degree is the liberty of franchise of a free warren."

Blackstone in his Commentaries, (ed. of 1829) in the section on Real Property, chapter iii. "Incorporeal Hereditaments," (which he says are of ten sorts), includes in "franchises," the right to have a forest, chase, park, *warren*, or fishery, endowed with the privileges of royalty. A *forest* in the hands of a subject is properly the same thing with a chase, being subject to the common law and not to the forest laws. But a *chase* differs from a park in that it is not enclosed, and also in that a man may have a chase in another man's ground as well as in his own; being indeed the liberty of keeping beasts of chase or royal game therein, protected even from the owner of the land, with a power of hunting them thereon. A *park* is an enclosed chase, extending only over a man's own grounds. The word *park* indeed properly signifies an enclosure; but yet it is not every field or common which a gentleman pleases to surround with a wall or paling, and to stock with a herd of deer, that is thereby constituted a legal park: for the King's grant, or at least immemorial prescription, is necessary to make it so.* Though now the difference between a real park and such enclosed

* Coke on Littleton, 233. 2 Inst. 199. 11 Rep. 86.

grounds is in many respects not very material, only that it is unlawful at common law for any person to kill any beasts of park or chase* except such as possess these franchises of forest, chase, or park. *Free warren* is a similar franchise, erected for preservation or custody (which the word signifies) of beasts and fowls of warren†; which being *ferœ naturæ*, every one had a natural right to kill as he could; but upon the introduction of the forest laws at the Norman conquest, these animals being looked upon as royal game and the sole property of our savage monarchs, this franchise of free warren was invented to protect them, by giving the grantee a sole and exclusive power of killing such game so far as his warren extended, on condition of his preventing other persons. A man, therefore, that has the franchise of warren, is in reality no more than a common gamekeeper; but no man, not even a lord of a manor, could by common law justify sporting on another's soil, or even on his own, unless he had the liberty of free warren.‡ This franchise is almost fallen into disregard, since the new statutes for preserving the game, the name being now chiefly preserved in grounds that are set apart for breeding hares and rabbits. There are many instances of keen sportsmen in ancient times, who have sold their estates, and reserved the free warren, or right of killing game, to themselves; by which means it comes to pass that a man and his heirs have sometimes free warren over another's ground.‖

Enough has been stated to enable the non-antiquarian reader to comprehend what it was that was conveyed to Thomas Grelle, Gresley or Gredley, the sixth lord of the manor of Manchester, by Henry the Third's grant of Free Warren. We have not seen the original of this grant, but only the

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* These are properly buck, doe, fox, martin and roe; but in a common and legal sense extend likewise to all the beasts of the forest; which, beside the deer, are reckoned to be hart, hind, hare, boar and wolf, and in a word, all wild beasts of venery or hunting.—(Coke on Littleton, 233.)

† The beasts are hares, coneys and roes; the fowls are either *campestres*, as partridges, rails and quails; or *sylvestres*, as woodcocks and pheasants; or *aquatiles*, as mallards and herons.—(Coke on Littleton, 233.) Grouse are not birds of warren. But Manwood (Forest Laws, c. 4, s. 3) gives a different account: he says (and supports his opinion by referring to 1 Regist. Brev. fol. 93) that there are only two beasts of warren, the hare and the coney, and but two fowls of warren, the pheasant and the partridge.—(Note by the Editor of Blackstone, J. E. Hovenden, Esq.)

‡ Salk. 637.

‖ Bro. Abrid. tit. *Warren*.—If the King has granted a warren within a manor, and and the owner infeoffs the King or lord manor, without saying "and the appurtenances," the warren will not pass from the grantor; for a man may well have a free warren in the lands of others.—(Dyer 30 b. pl. 309.)

paper copy (upon a 2s. stamp) of the Record in the Tower, as the heading of the document sets forth:—

"Inter Recorda Curiæ Cancellariæ in Turri London asservata, scilt: in Rotulo Cartarum de anno regni Henrici tertii tricesimo tertio, membrana 8ª, sic continetur:—

CARTA DE WARENNA p. THOMA GRESLEY } Rex Archie'pis &c. Salt'm. Sciatis nos concessisse & hac carta n'ra confirmasse d'ï & f'ï n'ro Thome Gredley q'd ip'e & heredes sui in p.petuum h.eant lib'am warennam in om'ibz d'nicis t'ris suis de Mamecestr, in comitatu Lanc': & de Wyllanesham in comitatu Suff: ita q'd nullus intret t'ras illas ad fugand: in eis v'l ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam p.tineat sine licencia & voluntate ip'ius Thome v'l heredum suor' sup. forisf'c'uram n'ram decem librar'. Quare volum' & firmit' p'cipimus p. nob' & heredibz n'ris q'd ip'e, &c. ut sª [supradicta]. Testibz Joh'e de Plessetis comite Warr', Joh'e Maunsel, p.posito Bev'l: Rado' fil Nich'ï, Paulino Peyor', Rogº de Monte Alto, Rob'ti de Ros, Rob'to de Mucegros, Joh'e Extᵉneo, Rad'o de Wauncy, Rob'to le Norreys, Nicho' de Stannford, Steph'o Bauzan & aliis. Data p. manum n'ram apud Wodest' xxiij die Julii anno r' n' xxxiij."

[Beneath is written in a smaller hand, "The above is a true copy of the original record of Chancery remaining in the Tower of London. (Signed) Wm. Illingworth, Deputy Keeper of the Records, 27th Feb. 1818."]

The following we offer as a literal translation of the grant:—

"Among the Records of the Court of Chancery, preserved in the Tower of London, to wit, in the Roll of Charters of the 33rd year of the reign of Henry III. in the third skin is contained the following:—

CHARTER OF WARREN FOR THOS. GRESLEY } The King to the Archbishops, &c. greeting. Know ye, that we have given, and by this our charter confirmed, to our beloved and faithful Thos. Gredley, that he and his heirs for ever may have free warren in all his demesne lands of Mamecester, in the county of Lancaster, and of Wyllanesham in the county of Suffolk, so that no one shall enter his lands to hunt in them, or to take anything which belongs to warren, without leave and license of him the said Thomas or his heirs, upon our forfeiture of Ten Pounds. Wherefore we will and firmly command, for us and our heirs, that he, &c. as abovesaid. Witnesses: John of the Parks, Earl Warrenne, Jno. Maunsel provost of Beverley, Ralph son of Nicholas, Paul Pey [or]? Roger de Montalt, Robert de Ros, Robert de Mucegros, John L'Estrange, Robt. le Norreys, Nicholas de Stannford, Stephen Bauzan, & oⁿˢ. Given by our hand at Wodest', the 23d day of July, in the 33d year of our reign." [1249.]

The above is an abreviated copy of the original grant. The "&c." after the word Archbishops in all probability implies the following, which we

take from another grant of free warren, by the same King in 1258, nine years later,—" bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, officers, and all bailiffs and their faithful servants," greeting. The grantee, Thomas Grelle, Gresley, or Gredley, was the son and heir of Robert Greslet, the 5th Lord of Manchester—(who is said to have died 15th Feb. 15th Hen. III. 1231, when this Thomas was only 8 years old)—by a daughter of Henry, brother of Wm. Longchamp, the Chancellor of Rich. I. Thomas Greslet succeeded his father as 6th Baron of Manchester, about the year 1231, but did not obtain his majority till about 1249. In a post mortem inquisition, his father " Robert de Gredley," is stated to have " held twelve Knights' fees in the county of Lancaster, infra Limam et extra," that is within or without, or under and beyond the line or verge of, the old Mercian boundary. On the county of Lancaster becoming an Earldom, Thomas Greslet (and after him his successors in the barony of Manchester), became liable to take his turn in the duty of castle-ward in Lancaster. About the 26th of Henry III. (1241-2) the King being desirous to make another hostile inroad in France, Thomas Greslet received a summons to fit himself with horse and arms to attend the King in the expedition; but he preferred to give 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) besides his ordinary scutage, to be exempt from that duty. However in the following year he was induced to serve; the expedition proved disastrous and to Greslet expensive, of which indications are left in the sub-infeudations about this period, of lands in Rumworth, Worthington, &c. The last feudal event recorded by Dr. Hibbert Ware as occurring in the life of this Thomas Greslet was the grant of free warren, which he had confirmed to him over the lands of Manchester and Horewich. The following is the Doctor's notice of this grant:—

" Within the barony there was much sporting ground. The wood of Aldport, a mile in circumference, which was used by the tenants of Manchester for pannage, contained within it an aëry of hawks and eagles. The park of Blakelegh, covered with oaks, was seven miles in circumference; it was productive in honey, bees, and 'mineral earths'; it was valued for it pannage, and it contained an aëry of eagles, besides herons and hawks. But the glory of the whole was the extensive chase of Horwich, which merits a more particular description. It is evident, from an examination of manorial records, that a prescriptive liberty of the chase had subsisted throughout the barony of Manchester, time out of mind, and that local forest laws had been framed for the protection of the game to the use of the lord. But in order to obviate any dispute to the contrary, from the newly-created Earl of Lancaster, a confirmation of the privilege by the crown was desirable. As no animals of the class of feræ naturæ could be appropriated without license of the King, unless they were claimed by prescription, which was frequently challenged, and as no lands could otherwise be converted into a franchise or privileged place for the keeping of beasts and fowls of the warren, the Lord of

Manchester availed himself of the well-known inclination of the King to relax the severity of the forest laws, and interceded with such success, that in the 33d of Henry III. [A.D. 1248-9] he had obtained the royal grant of a free warren over the estates of his barony. Thomas Greslet, in the spirit of the Norman 'Veneur', regarded the forest of Horewich as the most valuable appendage of the manor of Manchester. It is also rendered highly probable, from an examination of manorial records, that the baron's chief residence was not at Manchester, but at a hunting-seat, which he built for himself, at or near Heton-under-the-Forest, for the sake of hunting and hawking upon the grounds of Horewich."

Dr. Hibbert Ware then prints a summary of the curious forest laws of Horewich, derived from a manorial record of Kuerden; observing that "although not described until the extent of the barony was taken in 1322, they had a date of origin which is referable to a far more remote period; the right of free warren in the barony having been originally prescriptive." Referring the curious to "the forest laws of Horewich" as described by the historian named, in the "Foundations of Manchester," (vol. iv. pp. 57-58), we may briefly state that the Moor of Horewich about the period named, consisted of both wood and pasture; having a vesture of oaks, elms and other trees, which extended to the adjoining township of Lostock, where, in addition to oaks, hazel trees and thorns are described. Although the extent of the forest was rated at 16 miles in circumference, its boundaries were so much disputed by adjoining proprietors, among whom were the Lacies, that the greatest vigilance was required to prevent intrusion or trespasses. According to the manorial record it was so "several [divided] that none might enter it without leave of the lord."

Henry III. in consequence of his expensive wars in Gascony and his proposed expedition with an English army to the Holy Land, was compelled to seek an aid from Parliament, which in the outset was resisted, when many forfeitures of lands ensued. It is to this cause, says Dr. Hibbert Ware, that we must attribute the escheat which took place of the lands of Manchester and Horewich Forest. The entry was as follows:— "38th Henry III. [1253-4] Thomas Grelle, Manchestre, Horewych forest' terr' Lancastr'." Subsequently, however, we find Thomas Greslet in the repossession of his estates, although the escheat does not seem to have been formally rescinded. In 1259 Greslet was among the number of barons who obeyed the summons to repair to King Henry at Chester; and for this compliance he was in the following year [1260] constituted Warder of the King's Forests South of the Trent. In the 46th year of Henry III. [1261-2] Thomas Greslet died, seised of the Manor of Manchester and its appurtenances. It would appear that he held five and a-half

knights' fees in Manchester; in other parts and the Honour of Lancashire six fees; and one-third part of a knight's fee, with one-twelfth part of another knight's fee, in chief from the Lord the King.

Having concluded this brief sketch of the grantee's life, including a notice of a grant of free warren over the lands of Manchester [? the barony] and Horewich, we must next see whether that grant is the same as the one now under consideration. First, it is clear that the document copied from the original archives in the tower is not an original grant, but a confirmation either of a former grant, or more likely of the immemorial prescription. But while the area of its free warren is "in all his demesne lands of Mamecestre (Lancashire) and Wyllanesham" (Suffolk), the grant referred to, but not cited by Dr. Hibbert Ware (also a confirmation of existing privileges) is stated to be "over the lands of Manchester and Horewich"; and elsewhere "over the estates of his barony." It would seem that this is merely a general and vague way of stating the extent of the privilege conferred, with probably the omission of the manor in Suffolk, as not connected with a local and ecclesiastical history of Manchester. "Demesne," (from the French *demaine*, which is derived from *dominium*) in its widest and earliest sense, signified "patrimonium domini," and may be regarded as embracing all parts of the manor in the hands of the lord himself, or of his copyholders and lessees,—excluding only those portions in the hands of freeholders. The reference by Dr. Hibbert Ware is, therefore, in all probability to the grant of which a copy is given ante. Willanesham in Suffolk, of which we find no other notice in any inquisition or other document relating to the Gresleys,—is now called Willisham: it is a parish in the hundred of Bosmere and Claydon, 4 miles S.S.W. from Needham.

This paper has already extended beyond our intention, and we can therefore only name two or three of the principal witnesses. The first is "John de Plessetis," or of the Parks (from Plesseiz, Norman-French, park,) Earl of Warrenne, one of the greatest men of his time. He was descended from William de Warenne, who was nearly allied to the Conqueror, fought courageously under him at the Battle of Hastings, and for his services was constituted one of the chief justiciaries of the realm. William Rufus conferred upon him the Earldom of Surrey. In 1247, while young, this John Earl Warrenne married Alice, or Avicia, sister by the mother's side to Henry III. She died in 1256, to the great grief of her royal brother, and

as an old chronicler* adds, "especially of her husband, that loved her entirely." In the struggles between the King and the barons with De Montfort at their head, this Earl of Warenne was found occasionally with and at other times opposed to the King. The latter was his position at the Battle of Lewes, which being gained by the King, the Earl fled into France; his possessions being given to the Earl of Clare. He returned in 1265; landed in Wales in great force, and is said to have been benefitted by the Battle of Evesham, where Montfort was slain.

It was in the following reign, however, that Warenne manifested his great ability both for military command and wise counsel. He is said to have been "a man greatly beloved of his people;" and in all his knowledge and distinction, he seems to have been the champion of their liberties. Thus, in the reign of Edw. I. he bravely withstood the King and the recently passed statute of *quo warranto*†; and being asked by what right he held his land, suddenly drawing forth an old rusty sword, he boldly exclaimed—"By this instrument do I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them." The chronicler we have already quoted adds—"So that the thing which generally should have touched and been hurtful to all men, was now suddenly stayed by the manhood and courageous stoutness of one man, the foresaid Earl." Still he found himself compelled to plead, under the statute, before John de Reygate and his associates; and his plea sets forth that by adhering to the cause of the Kings of England in France, the Warennes had lost all their lands in Normandy (his ancestors being Earls of Waren in Normandy), on which account King John gave the lands in England to the ancestors of this Earl, and all which they should afterwards acquire, in *warrenage*, because of their surname, "*à Warenna.*" Evidence was adduced that he had all the chases, *warrens* and liberties appertaining to the honour and barony of Lewes; and it was adjudged that the King should seize nothing by his writ for the present. In close connection with our subject, we may mention that in 1238 this Earl's father, William de Warenne, in consideration of a goshawk given to

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* Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, lib. viii.

† 18th Edw. I. Stat. 2 [1290]. Under this statute those who could not prove the seisin of their ancestors and predecessors as therein required, might be adjudged to have lost or forfeited their estates and franchises: and these escheated estates were sold and the money applied by the King.

Simon de Pierpont, obtained leave for himself and his heirs to hunt (over Pierpont's lordships of Herst and Godebride, Sussex) the buck, doe, hart, hind, hare, fox, goat, cat, or any other wild beast, in any of these lands. This Earl William died May 27, 1240, nine years prior to the grant of free warren to his son. We can only enumerate a few of the most striking events in the life of this famous Earl John, whose daughter Isabel married John Baliol, the candidate for the Scottish crown; who (Warenne) was created Earl of Surrey, and in the war with Scotland took the Castle of Dunbar; his forces slew 10,000 Scots; and he was made Warden and Governor of the Kingdom. In September 1297 he was defeated by Sir William Wallace at Stirling, and he forms a prominent character in Miss Porter's pleasant romance of the Scottish Chiefs. We can only name his spirited protest against the Pope, and that he died at Kennington, near London, 27th Sept., 1304 [32d Edw. I.] having been Earl of Surrey 54 years, and was buried in the midst of the pavement in the choir of the Abbey of Lewes, before the high altar, with this epitaph in the Anglo-Norman of the time:—

"Vous qe passer ov bouche close
Prier pur cely ke cy repose:
En vie come vous esti jadis fu,
Et vous tiel, ferretz come je su;
Sire Johan Count de Garenne gist yey;
Dieu de sa alme eit mercy.
Ky pur sa alme prierra,
Traiz mill jours de Pardon avera."

Which may be thus literally rendered:—

"You that pass with mouth shut
Pray for him that rests here:
Alive as you are once I was,
And you shall be such as I am.
Sir John Earl of Warrenne lies here,
God on his soul have mercy.
Whoever for his soul shall pray
Three thousand days' pardon shall have."

This last promise was probably the result of a precept of the King directed to the Bishop of London, in which after characterising the departed Earl as a most faithful and useful subject to himself and the whole realm, and who had "departed this life to his [the King's] very great sorrow," he requires the Bishop to cause the Earl's soul to be commended to the

mercy of God, by all the religious and ecclesiastical persons throughout his diocese. Similar precepts were directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his whole province, and to six Abbots. Incidentally we may notice a tradition, given in an old book on Arms, and noticed also in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that the Earls of Warenne and Surrey (who bore for arms, checky, or and azure) were Earls of Warenne in Normandy, allied to William the Conqueror, and accompanied him hither. Having lost their Norman possessions, they afterwards received an exclusive power of granting permission or license to vend malt liquors, and to enable their agent to collect the consideration-money paid for this privilege, the more readily, the door posts were painted in chequers, the arms of Warren, the practice of which has been handed down to the present day. This privilege of licensing is said to have been exercised by their descendant, the Earl of Arundel, as late as the reign of Philip and Mary.

The second witness, John Maunsel, Provost of Beverley, was also a notable man. He was the grandson of Philip Maunsell who accompanied the Conqueror into England. Our witness rose rapidly in the favour of Henry III., first attaining the rank of King's Chaplain; in the 18th year of the King [1233-4] he was appointed to an office in the Exchequer; in 1243 he was a subscribing witness to the charter of dowry to the Queen; and in the same year was constituted Chancellor of St. Paul's. In 1244 and again in 1246, he was made Keeper of the Great Seal; and his fame for the impartial administration of justice was great. In 1248 he succeeded to the Provostship or Chief Magistracy of Beverley, and soon afterwards was appointed an Ambassador to negociate a nuptial treaty with the King of Spain. In this document he is described as "fidelem nostrum Johannem Maunsell, Cancellarium London: ac Præpositum Beverlaciæ, Secretarium nostrum." In short, he was in high favour with Henry III., who consulted him on all occasions; employed in many diplomatic missions of the highest importance; and his address and superior talent raised him rapidly to the highest dignities of his profession. In Scotland, like Earl Warenne, he was "invested with almost regal powers;" he was raised to the Council, and was styled "Domini regis Clericus, et Consiliarius Specialis." He entertained most sumptuously at his house in London the King and Queen of Scotland, and a great number of the English nobility, upwards of 700 dishes being served; and the house being too small to contain the number of guests, tents were erected for the superfluity in the field. Soon after

he became Treasurer of York; was Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the Court of Rome, and a witness to the deed by which the Pope transferred the Kingdom of Sicily to Edmond, second son of Henry III. During the greater part of that turbulent reign, he was, in short, constantly employed in commissions of importance to the State. He was thrown into prison by De Montfort and the barons for publishing the Papal Edict, absolving the people of England from the oaths they had been compelled to take, to the prejudice of the King; but on the death of the Earl of Leicester, the King liberated Maunsell and made him Lord Chancellor. Subsequently when the King was captured, Maunsell fled to avoid the resentment of the barons, and remained in exile till his death, which occurred probably in 1265. In addition to the high dignities already specified, this distinguished man was the Chief Justice of England, a valiant soldier, "in armis strenuus, et animo imperterritus;" and in a battle fought between the English and the French, in which he took an active part, he captured with his own hand a gentleman of quality, named Peter Orige, after a close and well-fought combat. He was styled by the Pope "dilecto filio, Johanni Maunsell, Thesaurario Eboracensi, *Capellano nostro*," ("our beloved son John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, and our Chaplain.") He held 700 Ecclesiastical livings; was one of the richest commoners in England, having an annual income of more than 4,000 marks [£2,666 13s. 4d.]; "quo non erat in toto orbe, ditior," says Matthew Paris; lived in great pomp and splendour; was honoured with the confidence and esteem of the King and of the Pope; and possessed an influence equal to that of the first baron of the realm. Yet his latest days were spent in concealment, obscurity, and exile, and he probably died from want!

These two remarkable men, alike distinguished in war and in council, for personal courage and for diplomatic ability, being thus brought into juxta-position as witnesses of this grant of free warren,—offered a temptation, too strong to be resisted, to enliven this dry essay with a biographic outline of their lives. The other witnesses must pass unnoticed. Robert le Norreys was in all probability a son of Alan and a brother of Alan le Noreis, of Speke; and is named in deeds of 1277 and 1292. This grant is dated at "Wodest:" [on Friday,] 23rd July, 1249, [33rd Henry III.] This may mean Woodstone, in Huntingdonshire; but more probably, Wood stock, where Henry III was visited a few years afterwards by the King and

Queen of Scotland,* in August, 1256. Always in need, and having been refused aid by his citizens of London, or by the parliament, the King sold his jewels and plate to raise money, and retired to Woodstock; and in this way we guess, the expensive honour of feasting the Royal Visitors devolved upon the wealthy commoner, cleric, soldier, magistrate, royal secretary, and chief justice, the worthy provost of Beverley. These things exhibit a singular picture of our England, midway in the 13th century.

II.—Remarks on the Ancient Mural Painting of the General Judgment, recently discovered in Gawsworth Church.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D.

The painting to which the following remarks refer is one of three, of which the etchings were presented to the Society at its last meeting.† The drawings had been made by the Rev. W. H. Massie of St. Mary's Chester, a member of this Society, who is brother to the Rector of Gawsworth. To the former gentleman a letter was written immediately after last meeting, as a help to the elucidation of this interesting painting. The following is an enlarged transcript.

There appear to be three distinct parts—Heaven, Earth, and Hell.

I. Heaven.—The Sun and the Moon are both visible, and very near each other. This was the usual way of conveying a certain idea, and producing an effect, though not consistent with the laws of modern Astronomy. The Judge is represented as seated on a rainbow, with his feet on a small circle, in allusion no doubt to the well-known text, *Cœlum sedes mea; terra autem scabellum pedum meorum*, which occurs both in the Old Testament

* Alexander II married the Princess Joan, eldest sister of Henry III, in June, 1221. We learn from the Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum, (Vol. 34 of Camden Society), that "in the same year [1256] the King of Scotland and his Queen, daughter of the King of England, came into England, and on the Assumption of the Blessed Mary [Aug. 29] were with the Lord the King at Woodstock;" and that afterwards the King of Scotland and his Queen came to Edinurgh, on Sunday before the decollation of St. John the Baptist. [Aug. 20.] As the Assumption that year fell on Friday, August 25, and the following Sunday, August 27, the King and Queen came to London, (distant sixty miles,) they could only have remained a day and a night with their Royal brother or brother-in-law, at Woodstock.

† See page 14.

and the New.* On the right and left two angels are sounding trumpets similar in size and form. Our translation gives two words in a single line,† the original ("trump") and the diminutive ("trumpet"); but the priest who superintended the original painting no doubt read, *in novissima tuba, canet enim tuba.* On the right and left of the picture are two female figures, each in the attitude of supplication and surrounded by a nimbus. If there were only one, we should have no hesitation in saying that she was intended for the "Queen of Heaven." Beside one of them, who exhibits a rueful countenance, there are "the five wounds of Our Lord," dropping blood; and beside the other, whose countenance betokens rejoicing, there are the cross, the reed with the sponge, and the spear, all marked with gouts of blood. The figures may therefore be symbolical, as indicating suffering and rejoicing, or the Humiliation and Exaltation. The Judge is represented as the second person of the Trinity, with the cross, the wounds, &c. Blood is issuing from each of the wounds, and the hands are elevated as if in the act of exhibiting them.‡ The persons to be judged, and who are "caught up in the clouds," are ranged in a circle, apparently in front of the throne and directly under the trumpets; they are twenty-four in number. These are separated by their countenances into two distinct classes; the twelve on the right hand of the Judge (i.e. on the left of the picture) exhibiting tranquillity, thankfulness and rejoicing; while those on his left indicate surprise, sorrow, or pain. St. Peter, standing

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* Isaiah lxvi. 1. Acts vii. 49. † 1 Corin. xv. 52.

‡ In the Mystery Plays of the middle ages, the circumstances which are here represented to the eye are explained dramatically. Thus in the *Towenely Mysteries*,—the MS. of which is preserved in Lancashire, and which were published by the Surtees Society in 1836,—the following occurs in the play entitled "JUDITIUM."

"*Jesus.* * * * * *

Tunc expandit manus suas et ostendit eis vulnera sua,

Here may ye se my woundes wide
That I suffred for youre mysdede,
Thrughe harte, hede, fote, hande & syde,
Not for my gilte bot for youre nede.
Behald both bak, body, & syde,
How dere I bought youre broder-hede
Thise bitter paynes I wold abide,
To by you blys thus wold I blede.
My body was skowrged withoutten skille,
Also ther fulle throly was I thrett,
On crosse thai hang me on a hille,
Blo [blue] and blody thus was I bett, [beaten]
With crowne of thorne thrastyn fulle ille,
A spere unto my harte thai sett."

beside the former group, exhibits much interest, and is preparing with his key to open the gates of Heaven. Satan on the other side, armed with a hooked club in his left hand, sits directly over the mouth of Hell. He seems in the act of claiming those that belong to him, for he is speaking with open mouth, and exhibits a piece of writing in his right hand. This may be a record of their offences, or more probably it is meant for a catalogue of their names. At the feet of Satan, the head of a monster is visible, perhaps with the intention of representing an idea similar to that of Milton,* that Death, the horrid fruit of Satan and his daughter Sin, is one of the guardians of the gates Hell.

Though this is but one-third of the subject, it comprises more than a-half, nearly two-thirds of the picture. The obvious design of the unknown artist was to give it prominence; and to make the other two allied subjects mere accessories or under plots.

II. EARTH.—Here the church with a cross on the gable seems to indicate the entrance to the celestial regions. *Non hic est aliud nisi domus Dei et porta cœli*† Its position is on the right hand of the Judge, and St. Peter with his key stands immediately over it. Neither of these facts can have been merely accidental. Within appears the sun, perhaps in allusion to the "sun of righteousness." The Holy Father (the Pope) at the door, seems in the act of guiding the true believers in the right direction; and a long train following him have turned their backs upon Satan and are at the side remote from the mouth of Hell. A King and a Queen are among the foremost, as if indicating the fact of a pious nation, or in allusion to the promise, *erunt reges nutricii tui, et reginae nutrices tuae.*‡ There would be a slight allusion, too, to the condition of the royal family at the time; thus, we may assume that there was not only a King regnant but a Queen consort, though from the rudeness of the drawing there can have been no attempt at portraits.

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* "The other shape
If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful dart. What seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on."

Paradise Lost, II. 666-673.

† Genesis xxviii. 17. ‡ Isaiah xlix. 23.

III. HELL.—Fire is heaped at the entrance; and this mode of representing Hell* was common in the Pageants and Mysteries till a comparatively recent period. The wreaths of smoke are visible at the entrance, (quasi "*fumus tormentorum eorum*"),† and a demon is in the act of stirring up the flame as if "to heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated." Lower down in the picture it seems more placid but not less terrible, answering to the graphic description in the Revelation, *pars illorum erit in stagno ardenti igne et sulphure, quod est mors secunda.*‡ Another demon is in the act of bringing forward a victim on a wheelbarrow, and his baboon-like features "grin horribly a ghastly smile."

The Mystery Plays represent the Demons as mocking the sufferings of the tormented, or conversing coolly respecting them. Thus in the *Towneley* "Juditium" the following occurs:—

Secundus Daemon.—I wold cut thaym a skawte and make theym be knawen,
They were sturdy and hawte, great boste have thei blawne,
Your pride and your pransawte§ what will it gawne?
Ye tolde ilk man's defawte and forgate youre awne.

Tutivillus. Moreover
Thare neghburs thai demyd,‖
Thaym self as it semyd,
Bot now ar thai flemyd¶
From sayntes to recover.

Primus Daemon.—Thare neghburs thai towchid with wordes fulle ille,
The warst ay thai sowchid** and had no skille.

Secundus Daemon.—The pennys thai powchid and held thaym still,
The negons†† thai mowchid‡‡ and had no will
For hart§§ fare,
Bot riche and ille-dedy,
Gederand and gredy,
Sor napand‖‖ and nedy
Youre godes for to spare.

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* Fosbroke enumerates among the machinery at St. Mary's Redcliffe, Bristol, for performing the play of the Sepulchre, "*Item*—Hell made of timber and iron work thereto, with Devils the number of thirteen." Sharp, in his dissertation on Pageants, quotes the following: "*Item*—payd for mendyng Hell mought, ij$^{d.}$;" and again "*Item*—payd for kepyng of fyer at Hell mothe iiij$^{d.}$" Mr. Wright says in his introduction to the *Chester Mystery Plays*, printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1843,—"I have somewhere read of charges for coals to keep up Hell fire; and that on one occasion Hell itself took fire, and was nearly burnt down."

† Apocal. xiv. 11. ‡ Apocal. xxi. 8.

§ Prancing? ‖ Judged. ¶ Driven out. ** Murmured.
†† Neighbours, i.e. negh ones. ‡‡ Spied privately. §§ Hard. ‖‖ Grasping.

* * * * *

Now shalle thai have rom in pyk and tar ever dwelland,
Of thare sorow no some,* bot ay to be yelland
In oure fostre.†

In the foreground there are three, of whom the one on the right seems leading the procession, apparently with a musical instrument. Two others appear to be bringing forward two beings to undergo additional torture, and they submit quietly, while the one on the barrow exhibits signs of sincere sorrow. On the extreme left, a demon seems to be standing at the entrance of a descent, "in the lowest deep a lower deep;" while in the distance another is carrying a burthen of fuel to the fire, and a victim near him is waiting bound for his or her turn of deportation to the fiery lake.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in trying to describe a painting like this, we should endeavour to enter into the contemporary ideas of it, instead of recording our own. The Church at Gawsworth is supposed to have been built in the time of Edward III.; so that this may have been executed about the middle of the 14th century, or perhaps later. Similar paintings were not rare at that period; for the Church, as we know, addressed its teachings to the understanding, more through the eye and less through the ear than at present. From the description of St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, we learn that it had a wooden covering, which was elevated and depressed by pulleys, like the top of one of our larger fonts. It was beautifully gilt; and on the North and South sides were "four lively images." On the West side was depicted the Virgin with the infant Saviour on her knee; and on the East, the Saviour sitting on a rainbow to give judgment. In some instances, external symbols‡ are adopted to give us ideas of that which is invisible and immaterial; but a contrary plan is also adopted. The ancient painter, in depicting the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, represented her father's head as veiled; and similarly, in revelation, there is a veil drawn over scenes whose colouring could not be correctly given in mortal language. "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, &c."

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* Definite ending. † Nouriahment.

‡ A Roman Catholic gentleman has directed my attention to a little work which is extensively used in the education of the young. It is translated from the Portuguese, and published by authority. The Title is "*Hell opened to Christians, to caution them from entering it.*" Derby, Thomas Richardson and Son. It contains eight engravings, all of which exhibit *bodily* torments of the most awful character.

A circumstance that cannot escape notice is the great preponderance of female figures in the picture. Of sixty-two in all, there are forty-eight of them. Where only heads are visible, they are known by the shape of the countenance, the length of the hair, and the absence of beard. Various reasons may be assigned for this fact. First, it is usual to represent angels as boys or women, for they embody ideas of purity and innocence but not of power. Now in the upper portion of the picture, there are only three that can be distinctly pronounced males, viz., the Judge, St. Peter, and Satan,—and these are all persons possessed of power. The others are distinctly females; or doubtful, like the angels blowing the trumpets. Second, in the middle portion, they are all clearly females except the Pope and the King. This may possibly be an allusion to the fact that in Continental countries, (and similarly in England, anterior to the Reformation,) women are much more attentive to their religious duties; sometimes almost the only persons that think of them. Third, it was not unusual for the clerical painters of the olden time to perform a practical joke against the gentler sex, by representing a very large proportion of them in the lower regions. Females were in fact placed in an unfair position. Their virtues were little known, especially to that portion of the clergy who devoted themselves to literature and the arts; but their errors were known, not only by scandal but through the confessional. It must be admitted, however, that such jocularity has not been indulged in this case, but that on the contrary, if these views be correct, the monks have paid a high compliment to the women of Cheshire.

It may be objected that the texts of scripture which have been quoted were really not familiar to the people some centuries before the Reformation; but we must remember that in all probability a priest was the painter, at all events that the clergy superintended the work. The latter were not quite ignorant of scripture as we know by numerous proofs; and absurd as some of the Mystery Plays are, there are occasional quotations from the Latin text. The passages have been designedly quoted in that form on the present occasion; and it is a curious fact, that the very copy from which they have been taken exhibits numerous proofs of having been carefully studied. It was printed in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.; and the numerous marginal notes, in a very ancient hand, and underlined sentences, show that its first possessor must have been a man of piety, intelligence, and observation.

FOURTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 5th February, 1852.

HUGH NEILL, F.R.A.S., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members:—

William Adam Hulton, Hurst Grange, Preston.
Robt. Pearson Thacker, 47, Canning Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies*.

Transactions of the Literary & Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. ix.

Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, vol. ii., part 1.

2. From the *Authors*.

Guide to Northern Archæology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen; translated and edited by the Earl of Ellesmere.

Baines' History of Liverpool, sect. vii.

Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii., part 7, by Chas. Roach Smith, Esq.

3 From *other* Donors.

P. R. M'Quie, Esq. — Two wax impressions of a seal found in the garden of the Rev. John Longhurst, at Kirkby Mallory Rectory, Leicester. It represents a pelican feeding its young; and perhaps belonged to some warrior at the Battle of Bosworthfield, as the soil in which it was found was carried from the spot, near which Richard III. was killed. The device answers to the name of Carne or Crane, and in Heraldry is called a Canting Coat.

J. H. Johnson, Esq.	A MS. volume of Sermons by the late Rev. Wm. Lewis, Calvinistic Minister, at Whitchurch, Salop.
	Comedies of Terence, vol. i., by Madame Dacier, 1724.
J. B. Donaldson, Esq.	"A Guide to Grand Jurymen, divided into two bookes. In the *first* is the author's best advice to them, what to doe before they bring in a *billa vera* in cases of Witchcraft, with a Christian direction to such as are too much given upon every crosse to thinke themselves bewitched. In the *second*, is a treatise touching witches good and bad, how they may be knowne, evicted, condemned, &c. By Richard Bernard, London, 1627."
R. A. Tudor, M.R.C.S.	A small Prayer-book in black letter, printed in 1608.
R. W. Rawlinson, Esq.	Reports of the General Board of Health on a preliminary enquiry under act 11 and 12 Victoria, cap. 63, on the Townships of Ormskirk, 1850; Altrincham, 1850; Broughton, 1850; with Appendix, 1851; Pendleton, 1851; Wavertree, 1851.
	Minutes of Information Collected on the practical application of sewer water and town manure to Agricultural productions, 1852.
Jas. Kendrick, M.D.	A Sketch of "Eyres's Warrington Press," a building taken down twenty-five years ago. "*Eyres's Warrington Advertiser*," the first of our County Newspapers, was issued there in March, 1756. Howard the Philanthropist selected this press for its noted excellence to print his great work on the State of Prisons in England, and on Lazarettos. "Reinhold Foster's translation of Kalin's Travels," was also printed here; "Pennant's Tour in Scotland;" Roscoe's poem of "Mount Pleasant;" "Watson's History of the House of Warren;" "Priestley's History of Electricity;" "Aikin's Translation of the Life of Agricola by Tacitus;" which the editor eulogizes as "A Specimen of a Warrington Printed Classic." Many other productions from the pens of Mrs. Barbauld, Enfield, Dr. Percival, Gilbert Wakefield, and others, could be enumerated which have issued from this old building.

John Holmes, Esq. — A Volume of Newspapers consisting of the *Evening Mail* for 1789 and 1790.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED:—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. — Four curious early made Watches, one of them a "pocket clock," similar to one exhibited by Mr. Mayer on a former occasion. It is circular in form, 2¼ inches in diameter and one inch thick; the case is brass richly pierced and gilt. Parts of the works have been repaired, and new springs put in. The second in age, is oval in form with a catgut chain; it was made by "Bouquet, à Londre." The third is cruciform, but the machinery is nearly all gone. It is elaborately engraved with figures, animals, scroll work, &c., and inscribed "Josias Cupar, fecit." The fourth is of about the middle of the last century; maker's name "Ed. Fletcher, Lond."

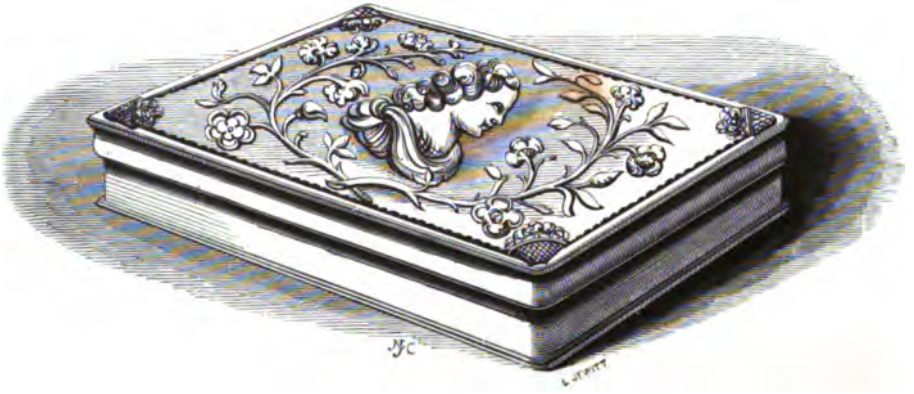
An early English brownware Jug, on which is the following inscription: "This jug was found on the 1st of May, 1795, on the west side of the kitchen chimney at Afcott, Salop, by the workmen who were employed in taking down the roof, in order to have it repaired, with 197 shillings and 16 sixpenny pieces in it, of the reigns of Edward VI., Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., the top being stopped with part of the sleeve of a coat, the cloth being perfect and free from moths." The top of the jug being broken off, some of the coins were melted and formed into a lid, on the top of which and the neck were let in some of the coins.

A Goblet made of the same silver, and ornamented with coins in the same manner.

By Mrs. Rawlins. — An elaborately pierced and engraved gold repeater Watch, of about the period of William III.; maker's name "James Reith, London."

A beautifully wrought gold Chatelain, ornamented with figures, &c.

Four very small Minatures, two of which are in Russian costume. The frames are very rude, and are perhaps specimens of the arts of the period.



IVORY BOX.

Carved by the Czar Peter the Great.

Llewellynn Jewitt del & sc]

[From a Sketch by Joseph Mayer Esq

An elaborately carved Tobacco Box of wood, on the top of which is represented, the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon; and on the bottom, the Judgment of Solomon. The manner of opening, and fastening the lid, is very curious.

An Ivory Snuff Box; the top and bottom each consisting of a single piece. There is on the lid the bust of a female, apparently the Empress Catherine. It is surrounded by branches of laurel and flowers, and is well executed for the work of an amateur. The hinge is simple, but solidly constructed, and well adapted to the material which it is to hold together. On the bottom of the box is the following description: "This snuff-box was made by Peter the Great, Emperor of all the Russias. Preserved by his daughter, Elizabeth, it was presented by her, when Empress, to John Earl of Hyndford* (a Scotch peer), ambassador from the court of St. James's, to the court of St. Petersburgh in the reign of George the Second." It is said to have been made by the Czar, when residing in Holland.†

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., London. A large collection of flint Arrow-heads, from various parts of the United Kingdom.

An engraving of one of them, of unique form.

By W. G. Herdman, Esq. The following Drawings, in illustration of the first paper for the evening:

1. Everton Village, with the Cross which was taken down in 1820. 2. The Beacon in 1802. 3. Back of Prince Rupert's Cottage and the Mound from which Liverpool was besieged. 4 & 5. Everton Road & Village. 6. East and west fronts of Everton House, at Gregson's Well. 7. House at the end of Shaw-street, about 1820.

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* John, third Earl of Hyndford, who died 1768, was Ambassador to the Court of Russia from 1744 to 1750.—Ed.

† The watch was presented by one of Queen Anne's physicians to his niece, Mrs. Peters, whose husband was an officer in the Russian army, in the reign of Peter the Great. She afterwards married Benjamin Vigor, Esq., an eminent British merchant, residing at St. Petersburgh, and upon his decease it became the property of his only daughter, Jane, Countess of Hyndford, of Carmichael-house, Lanarkshire. The countess bequeathed the watch, snuff-box, minatures, and other articles of value, to her namesake and cousin, Jane (Mrs.) Rawlins.

The following in illustration of the second paper :—

1. Southport, with a View of the old or first Inn. 2. Old Inn and Lord Street. 3. General View, looking north.

PAPERS.

I. Historical Notes, respecting the Township and Village of Everton.

By James Stonehouse.

[From the great length of the paper as read to the Society, it has been found necessary to condense it very materially: many interesting and curious particulars connected with the township have therefore been unavoidably omitted.]—Ed.

The township of Everton is a locality the features of which are rapidly changing. The following notice of it may appear to such of the members as are familiar with the History of Liverpool, to contain many statements of facts perfectly well known; but local information which is collected and arranged for a society at large, is always comparatively interesting to those even who are acquainted with it.

Of the antiquity of Everton there can be no question. In Doomsday book it is mentioned as *Hiretun*, which may be regarded as the first form of the name; and it was afterwards written *Yerton*. Probably both signified *Over-town* or *Higher-town*, i.e. the town on the hill. It has also been called Dunnock Brow. It is a township in the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, and part of it lies within the Borough of Liverpool. In early times, it must have been a most agreeable place, commanding as it did an uninterrupted view of the sea, the river Mersey, the Cheshire coast, the Welsh hills in the distance, and the champaign country northward and eastward.

In 1066 or shortly after, the Conqueror granted to Roger de Poictiers the lands lying between the Ribble and Mersey, "inter Ripe et Mersham," which included Everton. This chieftain appears to have been of a turbulent disposition; by grants to his followers, he was the founder of the Lancashire families of Molyneux, Gerard, Halsall, Villiers, Norris, Blundell, and others. He was afterwards dispossessed of his lands, they were restored, however, in the reign of William Rufus; but having been known as a rebellious leader, he was stripped of them a second time, when they were conferred

upon Stephen, afterwards King of England. There is also a story current that Roger de Poictiers, in his anxiety to join the Crusades, pawned his possessions to King Rufus, and was afterwards unable to redeem them.

In the 9th year of Henry III. (1225) the King issued a mandate to the Sheriff of Lancashire "to permit his tenants in Everton to have reasonable 'estovers' out of the King's wood at West Derby, as they were used to do in the time of his father King John, and that he do not compel them to other suit and service than they were accustomed to in the time aforesaid." Hence it would appear that Everton was then a manor of itself; the tenants holding their lands by a direct yearly rent and service to the King.

In 1229 the Manor of Everton was added to the possessions of Ranulph, Earl of Chester. It is probable that in his time the establishment of the Beacon took place; communicating perhaps with the castles of Halton and Beeston in Cheshire.

On the death of Ranulph without issue, Everton passed into the hands of the Derby family, through Agnes his sister, who had married William Ferrers, Earl of Derby. In the 33rd year of Henry III. (1249), the possession of Everton, with all the other possessions of Ranulph lying between the Mersey and the Ribble, were confirmed to this family. In 1252, the Earl of Derby obtained a charter of Free Warren for ever, through all his possessions in Liverpool, Everton, Crosby, Wavretree, and Salford. On the death of the Earl of Derby in 1254, his son Robert succeeded him; and forfeiting his Lancashire estates they were bestowed on a younger son of Henry III., who became Earl of Derby, forming a new line. On the death of Edmund in 1296, Thomas, Earl of Leicester, Derby, &c., succeeded him; and he gave to Robert de Holland the manor of Everton, but it afterwards reverted to the Derby family at his death. In 1327, at an Inquisition taken at Lancaster before Simon de Grimesty, it was stated "that Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, held in fee various manors, by the service of rendering an ambling nag or 40 shillings per annum; that there was at West Derby an ancient castle; and that there were at Everton 19 nativi who held 24 oxgangs* of land." In the 1st year of Edward I. (1327) at an Inquisition held at Wigan, it appeared that Robert de Holland had entered into possession seven years before, in or about 1320. In the 25th of Edward III. (1352) Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Derby "did give and

* Thirteen acres are reckoned to the oxgang.

grant his town of Everton to John Barret, yielding for the same four pounds." In the grant it is clearly shewn that Everton constituted a special manor; and it is covenanted therein that in the event of Barret dying without issue, the manor should revert to the Earl of Lancaster and his heirs for ever. John Barret, who was appointed castellain of Liverpool in 1365, by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, appears to have died without issue; for we find that Everton once more became crown land, and came into the possession of John of Gaunt, who married the daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. John of Gaunt was succeeded by Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV.

In the 3rd Henry VII. (1488) at an Inquisition taken at Walton, the *boundary* to the south of Walton is thus described. "It begins at Carton cross, and following to Darling dale and to the east end thereof, and so over the Breck by one ancient ditch to the lands of Everton called Hangfield * Ditch, on the south part of the common of pasture of Walton." Hangfield is sometimes written Hongfield; and the ditch mentioned ran westwardly, dividing Walton Breck from Everton Breck, and other parts of Everton from the southern limits of the Walton township. The lands in Everton were known by the name of Whitefield, Netherfield, and Hangfield.

Prior to the 15th century the greater part of Everton was waste land, and served as pasture for the cattle of the people of Kirkdale, for which privilege they paid to Everton 6s. 8d. annually, while Everton had to pay to the Lord of the Manor 13s. 4d. as a quit or chief rent, called "Breck-silver." This sum was paid up to the 1st October, 1833, and was derived from the rent of a cottage close to St. Domingo Pool still standing, which produced £9 9s. per annum, £5 15s. of which went for the Lord's rent, 13s. 4d. for "Breck-silver," and 4d. for the receipt.

In the 17th James I. (1620) the copyholders of West Derby and Wavretree sent to treat with the crown respecting "a composition to be paid to his Majesty for the confirmation of the copyholders' estates, and for granting the wastes and commons of said Manors by copy of court roll." The crown Commissioners proposed that "such tenants should pay thirty years' rent of their ancient rent; and they would be confirmed for ever in possession on paying, at the death of any tenant, or on surrender to his Majesty, one-third part of the yearly rent as a fine and the yearly rent of 4d. per acre, of seven

* The name is now changed to Anfield.

and a-half yards to the perch, the first payment to be made within a year of possession being given " The copyholders of West Derby and Wavretree agreed, but those of Everton neither joined in the application nor accepted the proposals of the crown, and they were supported by a decision of the Duchy Court, issued 18th James I. (1621), which run thus:—"It is ordered that the allotments and enclosures of the wastes of Everton shall stay and be forborne till further hearing of said difference, at which time the court will order to whom the said wastes of Everton shall be granted."

In the 4th Charles I. (1629), the King, by letters patent dated June 14th, granted to certain citizens of London, viz.:—Edward Ditchfield, John Highlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse and to their heirs the Manor of West Derby. The patentees claimed under the grant, Wavretree and Everton also, but the tenants of Everton refusing to pay them, their goods were distrained, on which, petitioning the King, they had the matter referred to the Duchy Court of Lancaster, and the disputants were summoned to the Duchy House in the Strand, to appear on the 6th November, 1632, before the Chancellor, Lord Newburgh, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Attorney-General.

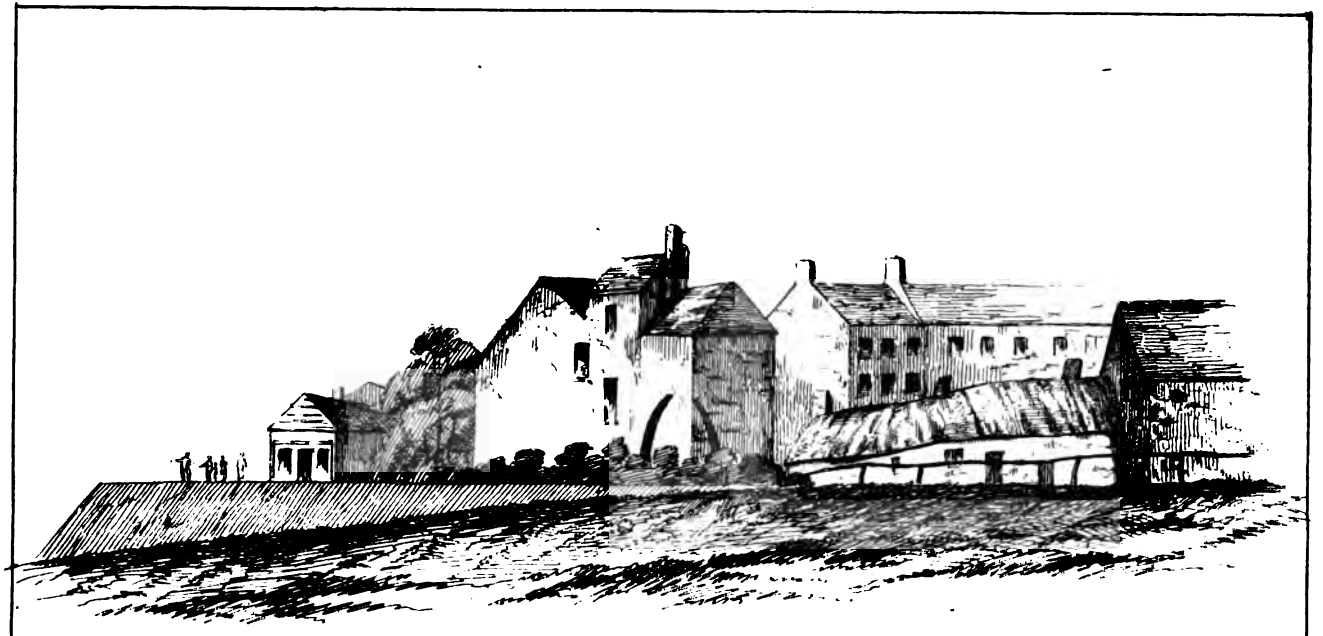
On the 23rd December, 1633, it was decided "that the tenants of Wavretree and Everton may keep their rents in their hands, and shall not be troubled by distress or other process out of the Court for the same, until such time as they have direction from the Court to whom they shall pay the same." The patentees, not satisfied, brought a bill into Chancery, and distrained the tenants of Everton and Wavretree for non-payment. The tenants applied to the Duchy Court, and the following order was made—"That the bailiff of the Manor of West Derby, upon notice of this order, shall forbear to impose, collect, or gather any fines or amercements of any of the said tenants and inhabitants of Wavretree and Everton for not appearing and doing service at the said Halmote Court kept for the said Manor of West Derby, or for any other matter against them or any of them, in anywise." On the 11th February, 1635, the Court of Chancery dismissed the cause, and the rights of Wavretree and Everton were established. The patentees, however, distrained again, and in consequence, on the 17th February, 1635, it was ordered, that the Receiver-General should receive the two and a-half years' rent then due, amounting to £12 11s. 11d., and give an acquittance for it, and that they should continue to pay their

rents to him. Litigation continued, the tenants of Everton took proceedings on the 20th May, 1636, and the Court of Chancery made the following order:—"That the plaintiffs shall reply to the defendants' answers before the end of Michaelmas next, and the cause to proceed to legal hearing in this Court according to ordinary course, and the injunction formerly granted to stand in force." On the 8th May, 1638, it was ordered that the cause be set down to be tried on the ensuing 7th June, on ten days' warning being given to the plaintiffs or any one of them. But the plaintiffs, instead of litigating the matter further, made a purchase of the manors of Everton and Wavretree. In 1639, Charles, by letters patent in the 14th year of his reign, gave and granted to Ditchfield, Highlord, Clarke, and Mosse, the towns of Wavretree and Everton.

On the 20th June, 1639, the patentees sold to James, Lord Stanley, the manor of West Derby and the towns of Everton and Wavretree, who in 1642, the 17th Charles I., appointed a Court for these manors, Sir Richard Molineux, Bart., being Steward. At this Court it was proved that Everton paid £5 11s. 3½d. for the enclosed lands, and for the commons called Hongfield, Whitefield, and Netherfield 13s. 4d. per annum, and at every King's fifteen,* 2s. for the said commons.

After many disputes, at last in 1667, the Everton copyholders agreed to pay the Earl of Derby 12 years' rent, of their ancient rent, and permit him to enclose 69 acres of the commons land for self and heirs, on condition that he would confirm their copyhold rents certain for ever, with the privilege of the other two-thirds left unenclosed, amounting to 120 acres. This agreement is dated 1st January, 1667. It is probable that the Heyeses availed themselves of this arrangement to build their house, which still stands in Everton Village and bears date as follows:— H / I M / 1688 On the death of the Earl of Derby, in 1702, the entailed estates went to another branch of the Stanley family, but Everton and those un-entailed came to Lady Henrietta Maria, Baroness of Ashburnham, whose trustees, in 1716, granted a lease of 1000 years, of 115 acres of the common land to certain copyholders of Everton, in con-

* The King's fifteens were amongst the oldest rates in the kingdom, and were superseded by the land tax. In Magna Charta, fifteenths are named in payment to the King as being one-fifteenth of all moveables.



"THE BATTERY MOUND AT THE BACK OF PRINCE RUPERT'S COTTAGE."

W G HERDMAN.

W. J. HAMMOND & Co.

sideration of £115 ready money. Thus only five acres of common land remained. The copyholders had to pay £5 15s., or one shilling per acre on the land leased, and 13s. 4d. "Breck-silver." This lease is important, as from its date, all the waste land in Everton, with the exception of the five acres, which include the mere and some patches of ground, was reclaimed.

In 1717 Mr. Isaac Green, a solicitor of Liverpool, whose wife was daughter and heiress of Sir Gilbert Ireland, purchased the rights, privileges and emoluments of the Manor of Everton, with those of the Manors of West Derby and Wavretree. On his death, July 5th, 1749, his possessions became the property of his daughters, co-heiresses, afterwards Mrs. Blackburn of Hale, and Mrs. Gascoyne of Childwall. Everton fell to Miss Mary Green, who married Bamber Gascoyne, Esq., M.P., of Barking, Essex, by whom she had two sons. At Mrs. Gascoyne's death, May 8th, 1799, the Manors of West Derby, Everton and Wavretree, descended to Bamber Gascoyne, Esq., the elder son, many years M.P. for Liverpool. General Gascoyne was the other son. At the death of the younger Mr. Bamber Gascoyne, 16th January, 1824, the Manors were inherited by his daughter, who married the Marquis of Salisbury, by whom they are now enjoyed.

An important event in the history of the Township is its occupation by Prince Rupert, in 1664. He encamped on the high ground between Shaw Street and Everton Village, and established his head quarters in a cottage which was pulled down April 22nd, 1845. Behind it, until lately, there was a mound, on which a battery is said to have been constructed. In 1844 a gun and sword, thickly encrusted with rust, were dug up from the area of this mound, which was used as a garden. Few details of the events of the siege are on record, which is singular, considering the length of time Everton was occupied. Prince Rupert, after taking Bolton, and refreshing his troops, towards the end of May, 1644, marched to Liverpool, and arrived on the 1st June. He attacked, first the north side of the town, which was defended by a ditch 12 yards wide and three deep, extending from the east end of Dale Street to the river. Ramparts were also constructed of woollen packs, brought over from Ireland by refugees from the religious persecution then taking place in that country. The river defended it on the west, and on the south the Pool, which would also protect the east, as it ran up Whitechapel, then called Frog Lane. We may suppose also, that on the west side of Whitechapel, which was skirted by open fields,

lying between it and Dale Street, now occupied by Button Street, Sir Thomas' Buildings, &c., batteries were hastily constructed, which assisted in keeping off the assailants so long. The attack on the north side failing, Prince Rupert moved to Everton, and is said to have extended his lines on the heathery brow of the hill, from the Beacon to what is now called Brunswick Road.

It is to be doubted whether Prince Rupert ever thought seriously of taking Liverpool from Everton, as it is evidently too distant from Liverpool. What was Prince Rupert's motive, then, in remaining at Everton? It was not to be out of harm's way, as there never was a braver soldier. It was not through ignorance, as he was an engineer of first-rate abilities. His true character has only of late been made known, and as a warrior by sea and land, and as a statesman, he had few equals. He was skilled in the arts of the sculptor, the musician, the poet and the chemist. What then were his motives for attacking Liverpool from Everton? It is most probable and possible, that finding "the crow's nest," as he contemptuously called Liverpool, to be "a den of lions," as he afterwards called it, he busied himself while at Everton in that negociation which eventually placed the town in his hands. Whatever were his motives, he soon advanced his line of attack to the London Road, where he threw up batteries opposite the ends of Norton and Seymour Streets, extending them thence northwards towards Gerard and Hunter Streets and Shaw's Brow, and on the south, on the site of the houses which lie between London Road and Copperas Hill, which were then open fields.

As corroborative of this it may be mentioned, that some 35 years ago a very old lady stated that she remembered a trench to be open in those fields, and that in her young days it was said "to have been opened by Prince Rupert." In this trench several rebels of the year '45, hanged at the Gallows Mill adjacent, were buried. In 1805 the trenches in London Road were discovered for about twenty yards, opposite to Norton Street. The rock seemed to have been cut through very deeply, but filled up with rubbish. In these trenches broken flasks, bones, shot-belts, leaden balls, and a portion of a wall were found. In 1745, while digging the foundations of the Old Infirmary, which stood on the site of St. George's Hall, other trenches were found, and in them were cartouche boxes, bottles, a gardevin, &c.; and in 1821 remains of trenches were again found in Gloucester Street. Prince Rupert not succeeding on this side, moved again to the North,

and on the 26th June carried the town by escalade, being assisted, it is said, by persons in the town itself.

Rupert's Cottage was a long, low thatched building, of a single story, and nearly rectangular, being about five yards in width at the Eastern end and somewhat wider at the Western; its length was twenty yards. It was built of rubble and broken stone. The rafters were of oak, and two beams are at this date to be seen in the yard of Mr. Jones of Everton, plasterer, who purchased the materials when the cottage was taken down, and serve as uprights for a timber rack. From its timber also, Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., caused a vase to be made, which was presented by the Society in 1848 to Lord Albert D. Conyngham, now Lord Londesborough, and a case for containing the address of the Corporation of Liverpool on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit in 1851. There was a projecting closet attached to the cottage, which was taken down some fifty years ago. The interior of the cottage was of the usual humble description. There is in the Collegiate Institution, an old cabinet, purchased from the inmates of the cottage, which is said to have been in it in Prince Rupert's time.

At the time of the siege, the army occupied the hill from the Beacon to Low Hill, which was then completely covered with heather, without a single dwelling. In Everton there were a few cottages, one of which, of the same date probably as Prince Rupert's, was pulled down about five or six years ago. Previous to 1700 the whole of the North and South sides of the hill were unbuilt upon. Nearly opposite to Halliday's Coffee House (licensed about 1770) in Rupert's Lane, on the site where Mr. Shand's gates now stand, were a pinfold and cage. In 1787 the pinfold was removed to Netherfield Road and the cage was erected in the triangular spot of ground on the sloping brow. This field was anciently called Barn o' the Hill field, as a barn once stood upon it, and was sold to the township in 1770 by Mr. Seacombe for £20. In 1797 the grass on it was sold for the first time for 5s. Mr. Harper, who obtained the township's order for the removal of the pinfold and cage, built, in 1790, Mr. Shand's house, and improved Rupert Lane, which at that time was deeply rutted and almost impassable. The site of Rupert's Terrace was formerly a smithy, connected with the village by a footpath, which probably is represented by a passage which connects at the present day the lane and the village. Previous to 1820 there stood opposite to the Parish Office a Cross,

on which was a dial. The township kept it in repair, as we find that in 1774 "a shilling was paid to a mayson for squaring the dial," and in 1785 the same sum for repairing the cross, and in 1787, £2. 15s. 5d. for the same purpose. During the sweating sickness in Liverpool, in 1650, a market was held round the cross, and the money in passing between the parties was dropped into a bucket of water. The cross was removed in 1820, as it was found to be in the way of vehicles, and some accidents had been occasioned by it. But as it was much venerated, it was secretly removed by two individuals during the night, and the stones were deposited in the cage till the excitement caused by its disappearance ceased.

Within the last five or six years there stood in the village an old cottage of similar construction to Prince Rupert's, probably occupied during the siege by his officers. Its place is now occupied by the Parish Office, and the original fire-place is shewn in the outer office. In 1759 Molly Bushell, the originator of the famous Everton toffee, resided here—it was made from a receipt of Dr. Gerrard's. The present Mr. Sandiford of the village is a descendant of this Mrs. Bushell, and preserves the original receipt.

The cottages which skirt the deep brow rising from Netherfield Road were built about 1692, and among them we have another toffee establishment kept by Mrs. Cooper, which has been in her family for more than fifty years. The shambles near these cottages are supposed by some to be of very ancient date, but they have been erected within the last thirty-five years only.

In the narrow part of the street leading from the village to the commencement of Church Street there are two cottages, built by an old and respectable Everton family of the name of Heyes before alluded to, one is dated 1688; the other is dated 1734. Where Rupert Lane, Church Street, Everton Village, and Breck Road meet was anciently called "Four lane ends."

The main approach from Liverpool was by the present Everton Crescent, the fields about which were formerly called Richmond meadows. This road was formerly called Causeway Lane, and afterwards Loggerhead Lane, from a public house which was near the site of the present "Loggerheads Revived"*: near it stood a dyer's house

* The house was previously occupied by a private family, and in it Mrs. Hemans spent many of her early years.

"Everton Road and part of Everton Village (temp 1820.)"

and a pond surrounded by willows. The sum of £8. 13s. 10d. was paid by the township for paving this lane, which was often almost impassable from ruts.. The Crescent was built shortly after 1807, the two fields on which it stands having been purchased by Messrs. Webster, Highfield, Bibby and Scholefield. From the early part of the eighteenth century the houses of Everton improved greatly, and towards the end of it, the Liverpool merchants built many elegant mansions. The value of land increased, so that £21 were paid for what would have been let for only the same number of shillings formerly. In 1549 the fields at the back of Aspinall's Buildings, containing 2½ acres, were sold for £15, and some time ago they brought £200 per acre. At present from 15/ per square yard has been obtained for land in the township.

The St. Domingo estate occupies the North-east of the township, and was owned in 1790 by two individuals. A part of it was called "Cobbler's Close," a shoemaker having first enclosed the waste land. This title was changed to "Pilgrim" by Mr. Barton, who purchased it out of his share of the spoil of a French vessel, captured by the Pilgrim privateer, the property of Joseph Birch, Esq., M.P. Sir William Barton, Mr. Atherton, and afterwards Mr. Woodhouse who gave it the name "Bronte," (from his connexion with Bronte in Sicily,) held it in succession. The originator of the St. Domingo estate was Mr. Campbell, who, in August 1757, purchased a portion of, it and afterwards the remainder: he called it "St. Domingo," from one of his vessels having taken a rich prize off that island. In 1793 it became the property of Mr. Sparling (Mayor of Liverpool) who rebuilt the house. From him Sparling Street Wapping, and Sparling Street, connecting Beacon and St. Domingo Lanes were called. In 1812 it became the property of the Barrack Commissioners for £26,383. 6s. 8d., subject to 19s. 4d. Lord's rent. The inhabitants used every exertion to prevent these Commissioners from taking possession, but without avail. Everton was again selected as a barrack station in 1848. In 1803 Prince William (afterwards Duke of Gloucester) resided at St. Domingo House, when commandant of the district, and in 1804 was visited by his father, and both from their courtesy were very popular. St. Domingo House, after passing through various hands since, has lately become a Jesuit's College, called St. Edmund's. Mere Bank at the North-east corner was originally called "Headless Cross," and a cross is said to have stood there, but its history is unknown.

In the South-east of the township was the house of Mr. Gregson, close to which was an excellent well, from which the neighbourhood had the name of Gregson's Well. The singular bend that the road here takes was originated by the owner of this house diverting the throughfare to its present shape in consequence of the dust incommoding him and his family. Gregson's villa was erected on the site of the Fabious' house, which was built long prior to 1700. In this year the Fabiouses (alias Beans) procured a license for a room in their dwelling for prayer meetings of the Baptists. They appear to have been influential members of a then small community. In 1707 Daniel and Hannah Fabious gave the Baptists a piece of ground for a cemetery. It is on the Everton Road. Interments have not taken place in it for some time, the ground being quite full. The management of it is vested in three trustees. In 1714 a Baptist chapel was erected near the burying ground, the congregation of which about 1722 removed to the new chapel in Byrom Street. Gregson's villa and gardens have disappeared, and are covered by multitudes of small houses.

The Necropolis, commenced in 1824, was opened February 1, 1825, Dr. Raffles officiating at the funeral of a Miss Hope. Shaw Street was commenced in 1829, and on its East side is the Collegiate Institution, the first stone of which was laid October 22, 1841, by Lord Stanley. In the North-west of the township is St. George's Church, built at the cost of £11,500 in £100 shares. The land was given by Mr. Atherton, who reserved for himself ground for a vault, and stipulated that no funerals should enter by the West gate except by permission of himself or heirs. There are three exquisitely stained glass windows at the Eastern end of the Church, executed by Wailes of Newcastle. The centre or principal one was erected in memory of the late Rev. R. P. Buddicom, the first incumbent, who afterwards became principal of St. Bees. The window at the end of the left-hand gallery was put up by Mr. Dyson, and that in the right-hand gallery by Mr. Staniforth in memory of his parents, the late Samuel Staniforth, Esq., and lady. St. George's Church was consecrated 26th October, 1814, being the first place of worship erected in the township with the exception of the Baptist Chapel previously mentioned. There are now three more Churches, viz., St. Augustine's, Christ's, and St. Peter's Churches; a fifth, St. Chrysostom's, is in progress of erection, near Whitefield Lane.

On the site of the corner of the East end wall of St. George's Church formerly stood the Beacon, which Gregson in his Fragments supposes was built by Ranulph Blundeville, Earl of Chester, and which may have been a medium of communication with Halton and Beeston Castles, both in his possession. Others doubt this, as up to the time of Edward III., faggots only were piled up for Beacons, which were fired when occasion required, while in his reign boxes filled with pitch on poles were used. A sketch taken in 1802 shews it to have been a plain square tower, of a dull red colour. There was a lower apartment and also an upper, reached by a flight of narrow stone stairs, and by another similar flight the flat platform on the top was gained. It was six yards square and twenty-five feet high. In 1770 a watch movement maker took up his abode in it, who was succeeded by a cobbler about 1773. Marriages are said to have been performed in it in the time of Chas. I., when the loyal clergy were expelled from Liverpool. The Beacon, it is thought, was used at the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, and in 1760, when Thurot's descent was expected, it was an important station. It was blown down in a storm in 1803. In forming St. George's grave-yard two skeletons were found, supposed to have been the remains of Prince Rupert's soldiers. In 1804 a telegraph station was established by government on the site of the Beacon, where St. George's Hotel now stands, in connexion with one at Ashurst. It was taken down in 1815, at the end of the war. At the corner of Priory Lane there is a house, built in 1800 by Mr. Hinde, which is said to have been in its original state a copy of the Beacon.

Waterhouse Lane, connecting Church Street with Everton Terrace, has been a thoroughfare for the last eighty years. It was opened by William Clarke, Esq, who erected the house lately occupied as a barrack, and now in the possession of Mr. Waterhouse.

Adjacent to Whitefield Lane, within a few years, a large village has sprung up, and will shortly form a small town in itself.

The rental of Everton in 1671, was £52 2s.; in 1769, £2209 11s. 6d.; in 1815, £9981; in 1829, £30,139; and in 1851, £92,071.

The population of Everton was—

In 1327	.....	95 inhabitants.
1692	.....	135 „
1714	.....	140 „

1769	46 houses	253 inhabitants.	
1790	67 „	370 „	
1801	87 „	499 „	
1811	140 „	913 „	
1815	188 „	1222 „	
1821	320 „	2109 „	
1829	570 „	3703 „	
1831	.....	4511 „	

	Houses.	Unoccupied.	Building.	Inhabitants.	Rateable property.
1841.....	1680	85	137	9221	£59,260.
1851.....	5741	574	183	25508	£92,071.

It will be thus seen that a most astonishing increase is taking place in the population of Everton, and there is little doubt that when the next census is taken there will be found an increase of at least two-thirds over the present number of inhabitants.

II. Topography and Antiquities of Southport and its neighbourhood.

By Hugh Gawthrop, Esq.

This was a brief topographical Essay, noticing the prominent features of the country, in the four parishes of North Meols, Halsall, Walton-on-the-Hill, and Ormskirk. Southport was taken as the starting point, from which a temporary resident might radiate to the others, at occasional visits. The rapid rise of Southport is one of the curious facts of modern times. About fifteen years ago, it was known mainly to the working classes in the various manufacturing towns of the county, and was, as if by a sort of conventional arrangement, the watering place of the poor. They came at periodical intervals to enjoy a week's cessation from their wasting toil; and anxious to give themselves over to rude enjoyment, the scenes of drunkenness and general depravity said little for the condition of their morals. Now, these have given place to totally different classes in society. The scattered huts among the sand hills have become a small town; comfortable houses have been built for the accommodation of temporary residents; the place is easily accessible by railway from Manchester or Liverpool; it is celebrated for its beautiful air and water; and thus its primitive character is lost for ever. The other places mentioned in the paper are of too much importance to be passed over with a brief notice; and it is hoped that on future occasions, distinct memoirs may be written on all or several of them, either by the author of the present paper or by others.

FIFTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 4th March, 1852.

P. R. M'Quie, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members :—

Rev. John Shepherd Birley, Halliwell Hall, near Bolton.
David Howe Lambert, Baltic Buildings, Redcross Street, and Bedford Street, Liverpool.
James Sykes, Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde, and 49, Seymour Street, Liverpool.

The following Donations to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Society*.

	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 22, in vol. ii.

2. From *other* Donors.

Robert Rawlinson, Esq.	Reports of the Board of Health, on a preliminary inquiry, &c. respecting Berwick-on-Tweed, (2 copies); Poulton-cum-Seacombe, (2); Rusholme, (2); Dorchester and Fordington, (2); Morpeth and Bedlington, (2); Birmingham, Carlisle, and Dover, (1 each.)
P. R. M'Quie, Esq.	A map of Manchester, A.D. 800. Copied by James Wyatt, Engineer.
James Kendrick, M.D.	Randle Holme's Academy of Armory; printed at Chester 1688.
Rev. T. Faulkner Lee, M.A., Lancaster.	Lithograph of the Ancient Runic Cross, of Lancaster, now in the Museum of the Natural History Society at Manchester. Drawn from the original, by the Rev. T. F. Lee.

J. W. Whitehead, Esq.	Prospectuses of Projected Schemes in Liverpool, about the year 1836. Of 102 which were proposed, Mr. Whitehead had collected as many as 80 Prospectuses.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	Six stone Celts of various sizes and shapes; four bronze do.; part of a sword blade; an ancient spear head with the wood in it; and a palstab found in the County Antrim, Ireland.
By Dr. Hume.	Bag of a "leubra" or native Australian woman, made of the stringy bark tree. A New Zealand basket made throughout of the *phormium tenax* or native flax.
By Alfred Rimmer, Esq.	Three Drawings by George Ormerod, Esq., D.C.L., &c.,—viz., Smithell's Hall, exterior and interior views, 1810; and Hale Hall, 1820.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

Dr. Hume exhibited and read extracts from certain MSS. forwarded by Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., Vice-President. The following extracts sufficiently explain their import and shew their character.

> "Deposiconns of witnesses taken within the King's Ma't's Court of Excheq^{r} within his highnes Castle at Chester, the vijth daye of Maye, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi, Angliae &c. quint. et Scotie xl^{o} 1607 Upon the ple & behalf of Gilbert Vrmeston defte against John Vrmeston compl^{t}

"Henrie Watte of Moreton w.thin the Countye of Chester husbandman, aged three score yeares and upwards, sworn and examned. Saith he knoweth the p.tyes, and hath knowne them for the space of thirtye yeares nowe last paste and above. And did also knowe William Vrmeston in this Interr. named, and that the said defte is eldest sonne and next heire to the said William Vrmeston. The said William in his lief tyme and at the tyme of his death, was taken and reputed to be lawfully seised in his demeasnes of fee, of and in the messuage & certeyne howses and buildings garden and yord to the same belonging, scituate in Moreton, nowe in the plts occupacion, and also of and in one Close or p.cell of land in Moreton aforesaid, called the West-car-hey, * * * And verilye thinketh that the said cottage is builded upon the deftes owne landes, or upon the waste landes in Moreton aforesaid, But whether the deftes father did fynd tymber to the building of the same he knoweth not. * * * Hee saith that there was heretofore a survey taken and made by Henrye Connye John Roberts and Myles ffells, officers for the said henry the late Earle of

derbye of the landes in the Interr. mentioned. And that there weare p.sent at the survey with the deponent William Bennet and Richard Rob^ts. with others whose names he certeinly rem'mbreth not. And that theis p.celles of land hereafter named, Viz the lytle Kyllonde, the two hullondes in the Gorstefield, the dovehowselonde, the Waynsharelonde, the Smyrlelonde, the hadlonde at the head, the hullonde in the oulde field, the hullonde in the Hawthorne, the Waye butt, the Wyldmarelonde, the borde meadowe, the pyke by the rake, and the hullond by the rake weare then surveyed * * Also saieth that the said Compl^t hath used and taken one Cowe grasse in the Towne More of Moreton aforesaid, as Ten'nt thereof to the defte, And that the right ho^r. William Earle of derby is Chief lord or owner of the Inheritance of the said Moore, And that the said defte hath the said Cowe grasse as app^rten'nte and belonging to his Inheritance in Moreton aforesaid, and p^rmitteth the Complt to use the same, And that the defte doth putt one Cowe less in the said Moore by reason that the Complt hath the superior title there. And further saieth that the defte is a Charterer w^th.in the said Townshippe of Moreton. And that there are divers other Charterers w^th.in the said Townshippe, that have Comon of pasture or grasse for kyne or Cattle in the said moore, by reason their Inheritance in Moreton aforesaid." Other Witnesses were William Martin of Saughaull Massye, yeoman; Thomas Fabon of Moreton, husbandman; Henrie Smith, Arthure Vrmeston, and Henrie Irbie of Moreton, husbandmen.

The Society resolved to join in the invitation to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, to meet in Liverpool in 1853.

PAPERS.

I.—A Lancashire Charm, in Cypher, against Witchcraft and Evil Spirits.

By John Harland, Esq.

Many years ago, certainly prior to May 1825, some men engaged in pulling down a barn, or shippon, at West Bradford, about two miles north of Clithero, in this county, were attracted by seeing a small square piece of wood fall from one of the beams; and with it dropped a paper, folded as a small letter [$3\frac{6}{8}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches], but measuring, when opened, $7\frac{1}{4}$ by 6 inches. A sort of superscription was in large and unknown characters; and inside, the paper was nearly covered with a sort of hieroglyphics, with strange symbols and a table or square, of 36 small squares, filled with characters in red ink, the great bulk of the writing being in black ink. For the loan of this paper I am indebted to its possessor, Jeremiah Garnett, Esq., of Roefield, Clithero.

In May 1825, this curious document was entrusted to the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, a gentleman of much erudition, and varied and extensive learning. By the aid of some old astrological books, he succeeded in decyphering and explaining the whole, and it is his explanation, (with a very few additions and corrections of my own) that I have now the honour of submitting to this Society. In the middle ages, charms and exorcisms were numerous; and Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, gives a week's entire service of the Roman Catholic Church, for the exorcising of a haunted house by the priest, the prayers differing every day; as to which we may observe, in reference to the charm under notice, that the collect for St. Michael's Day was said on the Tuesday and not the Sunday.

The table in the left top corner is a sort of magic square, called by astrologers "The Table of the Sun." It is so arranged that the sum of every row of six small squares, whether counted vertically, horizontally, or diagonally, amounts to 111, and the sum total to 666, a favourite magical number, the origin of which is to be sought in Revelations, xiii., 18:— "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is *six hundred three score and six*,"—i.e., 666. For the sake of greater mystery the numerals are expressed by *letters*, as follows:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
a	e	i	o	u	l	m	n	r	z

There are apparently some slips of the pen in it. For example, the second number of the first transverse or horizontal row (io=34), ought to be (ie=32), and the 2nd number of the 5th row, which is partially obliterated, should be (er=29). In the top tablet or space, flanking this table, are five mystical characters or symbols in red ink. The first in the top left corner, consists of the symbols of the Sun, and of the constellation Leo, which, in astrology, is "the Sun's own house," and where of course he is supposed to have the greatest power. The word written in black ink under these symbols, is μ-χν *(machen)* the cabalistic name of "the third heaven," and the Archangel Michael being supposed to preside over that sphere,—his seal or cypher is introduced below the symbols just named the commencement like a rude 4 and the termination like a capital N,) with his name subscribed, μιχ-ελ (Michael). The next character, at the centre top (like a rude Z with circular ends,) is "the *Intelligence* of the

-٧٨-

٩٥١٤-

\+ Θυ +

ἡ-μμ-θιν

Sun", that word being written over it, ιντιλλιγενσ. Under this is a character or symbol (like a broken fork) denoting "the *Spirit* of the Sun," the word σπιριτ (spirit) being written within it. In astrology every planet is supposed to have two beings or spirits attached to it, and called its Intelligence and its Spirit. The last figure, which contains within its quarterings the σ,γ,λ (Sigil, seal), is the seal of the Sun himself, in astrological language. All these symbols show that the charm was meant to be put in operation on a Sunday, that being the day of the Archangel Michael, as well as of the Sun.

We now come to the words of the charm itself. These are disguised by a peculiar vowel notation, and further obscured by the partial employment of a few Greek characters for some of the consonants and the distortion of the form of most of the other letters. The vowel notation runs thus :—

a	e	i	o	u
–	*b*	'	\	/

The consonants are thus written :—

b, like a rude capital C.
c, *f*, *j*, *s*, *w*, *x*, with little alteration from the ordinary forms.
d, *h*, as they are found in ancient writings.
g, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, in Greek characters.
q, *r*, like the figures 9 and 7 respectively.
t, like a staff, with a hook or small circle at top.

These are all illustrated in the fac-simile adjoining.

The charm occupies fourteen lines, which may be thus rendered into ordinary letters :—

Line 1.—apanton [or awanton] + hora + camab + naadgrass + pynavet ayias + araptenas

2.— + quo + signasque + payns [or pagns? pagus] + sutgosikl + tetragrammaton +

3.—inverma + amo + θ, [apparently an abbreviation for *Theos*, God] + dominus + deus + hora + [here the hole in the paper obliterates a word] + fiat + fiat + fiat +

4.—ut dicitur decimo septimo capitulo Sancti Matthæi a vigesimo carmine

5.—fide demoveatis montes, fiat secundum fidem, si sit vel fuerit

6.—ut cunque fascinum vel dæmon habitat vel perturbat hanc

7.—personam, vel hunc locum, vel hanc bestiam, adjuro te, abire

8.—sine perturbatione, molestia, vel tumultu minime, nomine

9.—Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sanctu. Amen. Pater noster qui es

10.—in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, veniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas

11.—tuo, sicut in cœlo etiam in terra, panem nostrum quotidianum da

12.—nobis in diem, et remitte nobis peccata nostra, etenim ipsi

13.—remittimus omnibus qui nobis debent; et ne nos inducas in tentat—

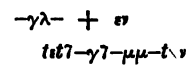
14.—ionem, sed libera nos a malo. Fiat."

It will be seen that the first three lines of this charm are a sort of gibberish, with an admixture of Greek and Latin words, constituting in itself a charm, supposed to be efficacious in expelling or restraining evil spirits. With the fourth line then, must begin our translation:—

"As it is said in the 17th chapter of St. Matthew, at the 20th verse, 'By faith ye may remove mountains; be it according to [my] faith,'*—if there is, or ever shall be, witchcraft [or enchantment] or evil spirit, that haunts or troubles this person, or this place, or this beast, [or cattle], I adjure thee to depart, without disturbance, molestation, or trouble in the least,—in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost Amen."

Then follows the Lord's Prayer—"Pater noster," "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c., ending with the word, "Fiat", (be it done.)

It remains to notice the superscription or endorsement, for the paper has been folded as a letter, and these words are written outside:—



These we read "Agla — On [or En] — tetragrammaton." The first two words are names given to the Deity by the Jewish cabalists. The third, (which is also the last word in the second line of the charm) is meant to authenticate the whole; and to show that it is the production of an artist who understood his business; for "tetragrammaton",† and "fiat", are words

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* This is not a literal quotation. The verse runs thus:—"If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you."

† "Tetragrammaton" is a word frequently in use among Jews, as descriptive of the sacred and unpronounceable name (Jehovah.)

of such potency, that a charm without them would be of no efficacy whatever. The late Mr. Garnett, writing in May, 1825, adds—"I should think that the document is of no great antiquity, probably not more than 30 or 40 years old. It was doubtless manufactured by some country 'wise man', a regular dealer in such articles. There are, I believe, several persons within 20 miles of Blackburn, who still carry on a trade of this sort."

II.—Memoir of the Earls of Chester.

By W. Williams Mortimer.

Part II.—The Norman Earls.

In a former volume of the Society's publications,* will be found a brief memoir of the Anglo Saxon princes who held the Lordship of Chester previously to the Conquest. The following is a similar sketch of the Norman Lords, and of the Palatinate Earldom which they held, after their predecessors had been banished or exterminated. Some account of the mode in which the Saxon princes conveyed and granted their lands, may form a suitable introduction.

In the reign of Alfred, a general survey was made of his dominions, the particulars of which are still preserved in the *Great Book of Winchester.* Of its accuracy there is little doubt; and it is quoted in almost every page of the *Domesday Book*, of which it formed the model, but which was not completed until twenty years after the Conquest.

By the fundamental laws of the Saxons, all their lands were subject to the performance of the following duties: I. The erection and upholding of castles. II. The building and maintenance of bridges. III. The military defence of the realm; not under particular leaders, but in general "the expugnation of foreign invaders." The estates were of four great kinds: 1. Thanelands, otherwise Boclands or Charterlands. These, which comprised much of the kingdom, were hereditary, and independent of any superior; so that the owner could freely sell or grant them to others. 2. The Beneficium, granted on condition of military service to some particular chieftain;

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* Vol. ii. p. 215.

this was held either for life or for a definite term. 3. The Folkland, held by the many commoners or yeomanry, was not entirely free or hereditary, but under an obligation to make a fixed annual return of provisions. 4. The Church lands were held under Frank-Almoigne; i. e. without feudal service, but with perpetual prayers and masses for the souls of the grantors and their families. To these may perhaps be added 5, the small plots occupied by the slaves [thralls or bondmen,] and villains [mere villagers], for their support, and with which they were sold.

At the Conquest, these modes of tenure were cancelled by the sword of the Norman; and estates were granted on condition of military service. Each Norman leader received his fief from the king on this condition; and again he infeoffed his own vassals in smaller portions, until the system of subinfeudation was complete.

The City of London and the territory immediately adjacent to the field of Hastings yielded at once to the Conqueror, but this formed not one fourth of the kingdom. Twenty years elapsed, ere all the midland and the great northern Counties had surrendered to his arms. Then, and then only was the Domesday Survey made; with the double object of showing how much had been allotted to his companions in arms, and how much yet remained to be disposed of similarly. But, one of the ancient Saxon kingdoms, Mercia, the Conqueror was unwilling to entrust to any one of his Barons; he therefore divided it into separate portions or counties,—thus destroying the unity which might endanger his throne, and rewarding a greater number of his followers. To some he also gave commissions, granting in perpetuity such lands as might be conquered from the native occupiers, in the "Marcher" counties of England and Wales.

I. The City and County of Chester, (the latter including that part of Lancashire between the Ribble and the Mersey, and also the Hundred of Atiscros in Wales, lying between Chester and the Clwyd,) was granted to Walter de Gherbaud, a Flemish nobleman. His valour at the battle of Hastings, and subsequently against the Saxons and Welsh, obtained for him this reward. Little is known of this Earl, except that the difficulties of his position were great and unceasing. Wearied with the fatigues of warfare, he obtained leave to visit his patrimonial estates in Flanders; when being cast into prison in his native country, the Conqueror resumed possession of his lands in England. The name of Gherbaud is seldom mentioned

in local history, although he was unquestionably the first Norman Earl of Chester; but he must not be confounded with the Palatinate Earls who succeeded him. The difficulties which he had experienced in retaining possession of the territory assigned to him, induced the Conquerer to erect Chester into a County Palatine, giving to its holder "a fullness of power previously unknown in these realms; such a Sovereign jurisdiction that the ancient earls kept their own Parliaments, and had their own Courts of Law, in which any offence against the dignity of the sword of Chester was as cognizable as the like offence would have been at Westminster against the dignity of the Royal Crown; "for William" adds Pennant "allowed Lupus to hold this County *tam libere ad Gladium sicut ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam.*" The Palatinate Lords might pardon treason, murders and felonies, they appointed justices and judges, and were as absolute in their own county, as the king in his own palace, whence says Blackstone, "Counties Palatine are so called a *pallatio.*"*

These privileges were granted to the counties of Chester and of Durham "as bordering upon the inimical countries of Wales and Scotland in order that the people having justice administered at home, might not leave the county exposed by absence to the enemies' incursions; and that the owner by so large authority might be more watchful and act with greater efficacy in its defence."

II. All these privileges were by the Conqueror conferred on his nephew Hugh Lupus, son of Richard Goss, Earl of Avranche, Auranges or Abrancis, and Viscount of Armorica, by Margaret, the daughter of Harlowin a Norman of rank. Harlett the mother of Margaret was the daughter of a respectable skinner of Valois; she had had, previously to her marriage, an intrigue with the Duke, Robert of Normandy, surnamed the Magnificent, as likewise from his violent temper and disposition, Robert le Diable. This eventuated in the birth of an illegitimate son, William, who succeeded to the Dukedom of Normandy, and is better known in English history as William the Conqueror. His nephew Hugh, the son of Richard Goss, was at the conquest rewarded with the manor and castle of Tutbury and lands adjacent, for the great bravery he had evinced in many encounters with the English, in all of which his daring courage and ferocity amply confirmed the propriety

* But there are several other etymologies of this word. See Spenser's Ireland, apud Todd, v. viii. p. 334, and Bracton.

of the surname he had previously acquired, of Lupus or the wolf, by which he is so well known in our local history.

To maintain the state and dignity of the Earldom, Hugh Lupus was invested with immense estates in different parts of the kingdom. The city and castle of Chester with the whole of the county which did not appertain to the Church, was conferred upon him, or his immediate retainers; he himself holding in demesne no fewer than forty-eight entire townships. His other properties extended into the counties of York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Oxford, Northampton, Derby, Notts, Rutland, Berks, Buckingham, Warwick, Salop, Gloucester, Hants, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon. After Hugh Lupus's investment in 1070, he restored the city walls, enlarged the fortifications, subdued the Welsh, and reduced the entire county of Flint under the sword of Chester. He also appointed great officers of his state and household; and nominated several of his principal Barons* to aid him in the government of his extensive territory.

The Normans partook largely of one feeling at this period, which was that scarcely any christian virtue exceeded that of the building and endowment of churches and religious houses. Many of them, therefore, founded or extended monasteries, as they believed their end approaching, and Hugh Lupus among the number. A monastery had existed for centuries at Chester, the foundation of which was attributed by tradition to Wulpherus King of Mercia, for the reception of his daughter Werburgh, afterwards patron saint of Chester, and such as chose to join her. After undergoing various changes, its previous inmates were dispossessed by Lupus in the sixth year of William Rufus. He was then suffering from severe illness; his endowments were upon a magnificent scale. The new foundation was transferred to Monks of the regular order of St. Benedict, and Anselm, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, who died in 1105, became its first Abbot. Hugh died in 1101.

Historians have differed much respecting the character of Lupus. By some he is represented as an active and prudent prince, especially in his early days, but toward the close of his life he sunk into voluptuousness. By others he is represented as prodigal, vain, ungodly, an epicure and sensualist. His numerous severities practised on the Welsh were retaliated by contemptuous names derived from his personal appearance, as Hugh Frès,

* See Appendix to this Paper.

(Hugh the fat,) or Hugh Dirgane, (Hugh the Gross.) His wife was Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Clerimont, Earl of Beauvais, in France. By her he had only one son.

III. RICHARD, son of Hugh Lupus, succeeded at the age of seven years. It is not known with certainty how the Palatinate was regulated during his minority, nor indeed till the time of Earl Randall, but there is reason to suppose that he was under the guardianship of his mother. In 1119 he married Maude, the daughter of Stephen de Blois, son-in-law of the Conqueror, and in a few weeks afterwards, returning to England with his bride, accompanied by two of the sons and one daughter of Henry I, and about a hundred and fifty of the young nobility of England and Normandy, he suffered shipwreck; and all save one of the crew were drowned. The old chroniclers relate the details, that the King's ship sailed first and arrived in safety, but that the crew of the Prince's ship had been intoxicated with part of three hogsheads of wine, and ran their vessel upon some rocks. The historians of the period testify no sorrow for this event, but regard it as "a divine vengeance," "a judgment of God," &c., occurring in a calm sea, in fine weather. The reason is that William, the legitimate heir of Henry I, cherished a spirit of bitter animosity against the Anglo-Saxons, and had been heard to declare that if ever he came to reign over the miserable remnant of that people, he would yoke them like oxen to the plough.

IV. RANDAL DE MESCHINES, Viscount Bayeux next succeeded. He was nephew to Lupus, being son of his sister Maude, by Randal of Meschines, and of Bricasart in Normandy. Of Earl Randal, peaceful in his disposition and domestic in his habits, not one incident is recorded worthy of notice. His name seldom appears after 1119, when he is mentioned as remaining faithful to Henry I, during the disturbances that prevailed in Normandy in that year. He married Lucio the widow of Roger de Romara, by whom he had issue Randal his successor, another son who became Earl of Cambridge, and a daughter. He was liberal in his contributions to the church, and in his donations to his followers.* He

* Among others he gave the manors of Storeton and of Puddington, and the bailiwick of the forest of Wirral to his steward, Alan Sylvestre or Savage. This Alan had a daughter who succeeded to his estates, and conveyed them to one Alexander, who is presumed to have been tutor to the son of Earl Randal, though in some pedigrees he is called steward of the household. Adopting the fashion of the time he assumed the name of his residence—Storeton—which with the wardenship of Wirral forest was confirmed to

died in 1128, after an incumbency of eight years. His wife, now a widow for the third time, gave £266 13s. 4d. for livery of her father's land, and paid a fine of 500 marks, that she might not be compelled to marry within five years.

V. RANDALL the second, generally surnamed de GERNONS—but perhaps, more correctly de Vernon, from the place of his birth—was the son of the first Earl Randall, to whose estates and dignities in England, as well as in Normandy, he succeeded. The influence he derived from the great possessions of his father, was increased by his marriage with Maude, daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. He was of a very ambitious disposition, and living in times when political contentions prevailed, he makes a conspicuous figure in the history of that period, in which he was not only one of the most powerful of the Barons, but, decidedly the greatest warrior. United in arms with his father-in-law, Robert of Gloucester, and his half-brother, the Earl of Lincoln, "he made many most notable stirs in this nation." The old historians have left elaborate details of the proceedings of these powerful barons during that "confused alternation and succession of anarchy and tyranny, which the poverty of language compels us to call the reign of Stephen." This monarch had given offence to Randall, by making Henry, son of the King of Scot-

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him by Hugh Cyveliock, afterwards Earl of Chester. Storeton afterwards stiled himself Magister, and his signature as *Mag'tro Alexandro* frequently appears, in numerous deeds, immediately after that of the Sheriff of the County. He had two daughters, by the marriage of one of whom in 1315, to Sir Thomas de Bamville, Storeton was conveyed to him, and afterwards divided between his three grand-daughters co-heiresses. Upon the marriage of Jane or Joan, the eldest, with Sir William Stanley, the first of the name in Wirral, he obtained the bailiwick of the forest and her share of the manor; and having purchased the other shares from her sisters, he assumed the armorial bearings of the Foresters, viz.—*Argent, on a bend azure, three bucks' heads cabossed or*, instead of those previously borne by the Stanleys. His great grandson, Sir William Stanley, Lord of Storeton, who died 21 Richard II, appears from an inquisition to have held the manor from the King as Prince of Chester. Many charters now in Chester shew how much Richard the Second was attached to the capital of his favourite County, which in his greatest extremity furnished him with a body guard of 2000 native archers. In the latter part of his reign, 21 Richard II, cap. 19, the Earldom was erected into a principality. But these proceedings were cancelled by his successor Henry IV, who conferred the Earldom upon his son, creating him Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. This Sir William was the direct ancester of the many noble and distinguished Stanleys who have since occupied so conspicuous a position in the annals of this kingdom. His eldest son married Margaret the daughter and heiress of William de Hotone, from whom is in direct descent the present Sir William Stanley Massey Stanley, Bart., late of Hooton. His second son was Sir John Stanley, Lord Deputy of Ireland and Knight of the Garter, who marrying Isabella the heiress of Latham, became the founder of the ennobled families of Stanley of Knowsley, (Lord Derby,) and of Stanley of Alderley—also of the Stanleys of Ponsonby in Cumberland.

land, Earl of Northumberland, and presenting him with Cumberland, a county which Randall considered his own, as he claimed to be lord of Cumberland and Carlisle. Prevented by the King from attacking Northumberland, on his return to the court of his father, Randall's indignation was roused against Stephen, and he immediately surprised the town and castle of Lincoln, which the King had garrisoned, and took it with all the strongholds in that county.

The two earls of Lincoln and Chester, were in turn besieged in Lincoln by Stephen, but Randall escaping, raised a large force among his own followers in Cheshire and North Wales. Robert of Gloucester, his father-in-law, aided him, and Matilda was proclaimed Queen. The King's troops consisted in a great degree of Flemings; but a battle taking place at Lincoln, on Candlemas-day, 1141, they were forced to flee before the fierce Welshmen, and the king was sent in irons to Bristol, where Matilda was residing.

At this period, Randall was in the zenith of his power; but Gloucester had been made a prisoner, and his liberty was of so great importance to his party, that the king was exchanged for him. During the remainder of his life, Randall was engaged in a continued series of battles with Stephen, attended with very varied success; once fully one-third of the kingdom belonging to himself. In every town and village, the factions of the royalists and imperialists, (as the party of Matilda was called,) had almost daily contests, in which both sides suffered severely. The frequent and long absences of Randall from Cheshire, and the exhaustion of males in fighting his battles, tempted the Welsh to make inroads upon his territories, "making great store of spoil and devastation." Late in life, he was one of those who invited Henry Plantagenet to England. He died in 1152 or 1153, it is generally supposed by poison. He had previously founded Trentham Priory, the Nunnery in Chester, and several other religious houses in Warwick and Lincoln. One of his last acts, was to give to the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester, the manor and churches of Bromborough and Eastham, as a recompense for injuries which he had done to the brotherhood. And to procure the removal of a sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced by Walter, Bishop of Lichfield, against the Earl, his widow and son, shortly after his death, transferred the manor of Styshall, with other lands in Warwickshire, to the Bishop.

VI. Hugh the second, surnamed Cyveliock, from having been born in the Commote* of that name in Powysland, succeeded as sixth Earl. He possessed, we are told, the valour and fortitude of his father, but was greatly inferior to him in wisdom and in the control of his passions. He wrested from the Welsh, and retained in his own hands, much of the land about Bromfield and the neighbourhood. At this time, when the Welsh, confined within their mountain fastnesses, were no longer a source of terror to the English, when the vast possessions of the British monarch in France were not disputed, when Scotland no longer threatened the border frontiers with invasion, and in England all was peaceable except one or two of his own turbulent Barons, Henry II appeared at the height of his prosperity. But by the evil disposition of his Queen instigating his three sons, then mere boys, a powerful conspiracy was formed against him. The flames of civil discord broke out in all directions. The powerful Earl of Chester, "William the Lion" King of Scotland, and the Earl of Leicester led their forces against the King, and were at first eminently successful both in England and France. But a reverse occurring, Earl Hugh fell into the hands of the King, at the castle of Dole, in 1173; and the King of Scotland being taken, peace was soon established. The three young princes were pardoned, with the most of their allies, but the three principal conspirators were to be treated with separately. William the Lion and the Earl of Leicester easily made terms; but it was only in 1178, that Henry restored to Hugh his liberty and estates, on the earnest entreaty of his friends. "Being taught by his folly to be more wise," says Webb, he retired to Chester, where he was buried in 1181. He also was liberal to the church. He added to the endowment of Trentham Abbey; and confirmed the manor and village of Greasby to the Abbey of Chester.†

VII. Randall the third, surnamed Blundeville,‡ succeeded his father, and held the earldom during the long period of fifty-one years. He was the principal adviser of four English monarchs, (Henry II, Richard I,

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* Part of a shire, hundred, or cantred, containing fifty villages.—*Bailey.*

† As a witness to a deed, granting the church of Prestbury to this Abbey, the name of Gilberto *filio* Pincernæ appears. Robert the father of this Gilbert was Robert le Pincerna, or Butler, which name he assumed from his office; he was the ancestor of the Butlers or Botelers of Amounderness and Bewsey. Several families branching from him are extinct,—as Boteler of Teston, a baronet "of that right worshipful and ancient family," as Philipot the deputy of Camden calls them. Sir Philip Boteler the last Baronet, died in 1772. He bore for Arms, arg. on a chief sa. three cups or.

‡ From *Album Monasterium*, i.e. Blondeville, (modern Oswestry.)

John, and Henry III), and all writers agree in considering him one of the principal barons of England, not only in prowess, but in wisdom and prudence. He was called Randall the Good, from his benevolence; but partaking of the feelings of the period he entered the lists of the crusaders at an advanced period of life, with a degree of fury and fervour which fanaticism only could inspire. He attained great celebrity, and Robert Langland or John Malvern gives a curious illustration of the Earl's notoriety in song at the time when he wrote. An ignorant monk, attempting to chaunt mass, pleads as an excuse for his inability to perform it:—

"I cannot the Pater Noster as the priest it syngethe,
But I can Rimes of Robin Hood, and of *Randall of Chester*,
But of our Lord and Ladye, I lerne nothing at all."

The first twenty years of this earldom present little worthy of notice. He was in arms in 1194, to aid in the liberation of Cœur de Lion from imprisonment; and the known designs of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, to attain the independence of his country, kept the border or marches in a state of perpetual excitement. Amid the changes of the period, the alliances and hostilities, the varying friendships and treaties, Earl Randall appears to have acted with firmness and consistency.

The Earl of Chester was one of those who had been instrumental in procuring the elevation of King Henry III., who was crowned in 1216, at the age of nine years, and in the divided condition of the nation and weakness of the crown, Llewellyn attempted to attain his object, but mainly in consequence of the faithlessness of the English barons in alliance with him, he was defeated. The victory in which the young King broke the forces of his rebellious barons is quaintly called "the fair of Lincoln," and took place in May, 1217. The earl of Chester was then Regent; and next to the security of the nation, he sought that of his own territories. The devastations of the Welsh extended to almost every village and town on the borders; they were witnessed often from the walls of Chester; and the suburb of Handbridge, on the opposite side of the Dee, was thence called *Treboth*, or the burnt town. In September, 1217, Randall took advantage of a treaty that had been made with Llewellyn, and went to the crusades. On his return he made grants to several religious establishments. The Cistercian monks of Poulton were transferred to the Abbey of Dieulacres, in Staffordshire, which he had first founded; he erected Beeston and other castles, which were to be supported

by tolls on those who passed through his lordships; and he established beacons, as at Everton. His whole life was spent in activity, and nothing was either too difficult for his accomplishment, or too minute for his attention. Alike in his victories and in his government, he was influenced by feelings of pure patriotism.

He was undoubtedly, the first subject in the kingdom, holding the two great earldoms of Chester and Lincoln, and by virtue of his wife Constance, (widow of Geoffrey, son of Henry II.,) the dukedom of Brittany and earldom of Richmond, which she had inherited from her father. He was sheriff of the three shires of Stafford, Salop, and Lancaster, in the two former of which he held large estates by inheritance; and, in consequence of receiving confirmation of lands which his ancestors had held, but which had been forfeited by the defection of Roger de Poictiers—the original grantee,—he became chief lord under the king, of all Lancashire. For the tenure of his lands between the Ribble and the Mersey, he paid annually a goshawk, or fifty shillings into the king's exchequer. Such large possessions gave him great power and influence, so that he sometimes refused to answer the summons of royalty itself.

He died in 1232, at Wallingford, whence his body was removed to Chester for interment. He was twice married, having been divorced from Constance in 1200, and remarried to Clemence, widow of Alan de Dinnan. Some say that he was married a third time; but there is evidence that his second wife survived him. Respecting his private or personal history little is known; but it is inferred that he was small of stature, from a reproachful remark made of him previous to the battle of Lincoln. His vast possessions were divided among his four sisters. Maude, the eldest, who had married David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, King of Scotland, received Cheshire as her portion. Mabel, married William D'Albiney, Earl of Arundel; and Agnes, Ferrers, Earl of Derby. Avis or Hawes, the youngest, and her brother's favourite, received the earldom of Lincoln, with all his lands in that shire; she married Robert de Quincey, son and heir of the Earl of Winchester.

VIII. JOHN, surnamed the SCOT, son of Maude and David, succeeded as Earl of Huntingdon and Chester. Little is known of him, but it is believed that he spent his time mainly in the improvement of his possessions, and that he was of a peaceful disposition. He at first took part with

the Barons against Henry III., but speedily joined the councils of the monarch—being influenced no doubt by personal attachment as well as by alliance. He was constant in his attendance at the court of the king; and at the marriage of the sovereign, carried one of the swords of state—that of mercy. On this occasion, the great barons of the land had all been summoned to perform the usual offices or duties which had anciently been held by, or were due from their ancestors, at the coronations of the kings.

In the life time of his father, by his desire, he married Helen, a daughter of Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales; the object being to heal the differences which had long existed between the Welsh and the Cestrians. The marriage was not attended with happy results. He had no issue, nor was there any direct or immediate heir to succeed to the earldom; when in 1237, after having held it for only five years, he died and was buried at Chester. It is supposed that he was poisoned, and that by the connivance of his wife.

With him terminated the Palatinate Earldom of Chester, for the King took possession of all the manors and lands which had been held by the Earl, giving in lieu thereof ample domains to his sisters whom he had appointed his coheirs. His widow also received from the king, lands in Northampton, Middlesex, Bedford, and other counties. The rewards or *exchanges* as they have been called, were liberal, the king being "not averse to any, but unwilling that so great an inheritance as the earldom of Chester, should be parcelled out among distaffs."

The widow and children of John le Scott, last Earl of Chester and of Huntingdon, being thus recompensed out of his princely possessions, the honour and dignity of the Earldom were attached to the Crown, and they have since remained a brilliant appendage of the British monarchy, having been uniformly borne by the heir-apparent of these wide-spread realms.

APPENDIX.

THE BARONS OF CHESTER.

Hugh Lupus, anxious to commence the exercise of his almost regal prerogatives in becoming state, nominated several of his principal BARONS, to form a Parliament to aid him in the Government of his extended territory. Their number, exclusive of spiritual peers, was seven or eight; the title of each was hereditary, and it was taken from his chief place of residence. They had ample means to support their dignity. Sir Peter Leycester says, "though inferior in rank, nay in place below all Knights, they had great power and privileges in the county, which then extended over all Flintshire, and the greater part of Denbighshire, and Cærnarvonshire." From them, many of the distinguished families of Cheshire are descended.

1. Foremost in precedence was Neal, Nigel, or Lenoir;—Baron of Halton, Constable and Earl-Marshall of Chester. He possessed consummate skill as a commander, and great bravery as a soldier. In addition to the offices of state entrusted to him, he possessed twenty-seven manors or townships in Cheshire, in one of which he erected a residence and fortification—Halton Castle—the ruins of which still remain. His son William, the second Baron, founded a priory at Runcorn; and his grandson, the third Baron, dying without male issue, his estates were divided between his two daughters. Lenoir, does not appear to have accompanied the Conqueror to England. One of his brothers was the ancestor of the numerous families of Dutton, Aston, Arley, Gerard, and Warburton; his descendants taking their names from their respective properties. The elder daughter of the third Baron, married Eustace Fitzjohn, whose great grandson took the name of Lacy in 1194, on inheriting the possessions of Robert Lacy, lord of Pomfret. Henry de Lacy, the tenth Baron, was high in rank and power, and a great favourite with Edward I. He was Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, Baron of Halton, Pomfret, Blackburnshire, Roos, and Roweynock, and Lord Protector of England. He left only one daughter, sole heiress, at his death in 1310; and she married Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Leicester and Derby. His widow dying without issue, the Barony of Halton reverted to the crown; and, is since known as the "fee of Halton."

2. Robert de Montalt or Mold, came next. He was Seneschal of Chester, and entrusted with the government of Mold. A strong castle was erected there to protect the Normans from the incursions of the Welsh. Upon the death of Robert, his heirs succeeded till 1327; when the last Baron, dying without issue, bequeathed his estates to Isabella, Queen of England, and John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall.

3. William de Maldebeng, Malbank, or Nantwich, a near relative of Hugh Lupus, became Baron of Nantwich. He built a castle of great strength at Nantwich, and adopted the name of the place as his surname. It is mentioned in Domesday, that he possessed no fewer than forty-seven manors or townships. His son, who founded Combermere Abbey, gave one-fourth of Nantwich as an endowment; but the male issue failing, the remainder became much divided. Most of it is now held by the Marquis of Cholmondeley and Lord Crewe.

4. Richard Vernon, Baron of Shipbrook. The fifth Baron dying (37 Henry III.) without male issue, his barony became vested in his sisters as co-heiresses, whence it descended to the families of Wilbraham, Stafford, and Littlebury.*

5. Robert Fitzhugh, supposed to have been a natural son of the Earl, was his chief secretary; and though properly Baron of Malpas, is sometimes called Baron of Hawarden. He had thirty-one manors, including Malpas, which he chose for his castle and surname. The lords of Malpas, in common with other powers, possessed that of life and death in their courts; and it would appear from various reasons, that they more frequently exercised it than others. From him are descended the ancestors of the families of Cholmondeley, and the Egertons of Cheshire, Bridgewater, and Wilton.

6. Hamon de Masci, Baron of Dunham, held his barony, under Lupus, by military tenure. The first Baron was a distinguished warrior; and the third founded the priory

* Half of the Baronial Manor was after legal proceedings recovered by an uncle called in the pedigrees "Sir Ralphe the Olde," and "the Old Liver." He is stated to have lived one hundred and fifty years. *See Harl. MSS.* 2079 *pp.* 121-132, *and Lysons, Mag. Brit.*

of Birkenhead, about the middle of the twelfth century,—in a portion of the barony of Dunham. It was further endowed by Hamon the fifth Baron, upon the death of whose son, in 1342, without male issue, the barony passed to the ancestor of the present earl of Stamford and Warrington.

7. Gilbert de Venables, a younger brother of the celebrated Earl of Blois, was appointed Baron of Kinderton; and had thirty-seven townships annexed to his dignity. The power of inflicting capital punishment, was exercised by the Barons of Kinderton so lately as 1597; when one Hugh Stringer was tried for murder in the Court Baron, and being convicted was executed. The descendants of this Gilbert are frequently mentioned in the history of English warfare; as at the battle of Shrewsbury* and in the wars of the Roses.† Peter Venables, the last direct male descendant, died at Middlewich in the early part of the last century. The Baroness survived him only a few years, dying in 1717. Various other families, still seated in Staffordshire as well as in Cheshire, are descended from these Barons.

8? To these seven, some add a Baron of Stockport; respecting whom, however, there is great doubt. Camden and Spelman incline to the affirmative; and they are followed by the learned authorities of the Magna Britannica, as well as in some degree countenanced by an ancient painting. Sir Peter Leycester, on the other hand, decides in the negative, and denies the authority of the painting. In the records of Henry III. and Edward II. Stockport is described merely as a manor, and not as a lordship; and the proprietor in a plea, *temp.* Henry VII., only claimed the right of punishing *minor* offences. It is probable therefore that there was not an eighth Baron, of the same rank.

To the above Temporal Barons, Lupus added certain Lords Spiritual. These were as follows:—1. The Bishop of Lichfield, who in 1075 transferred his episcopal seat to Chester, and thenceforward was called Bishop of Chester. 2. The Bishop of Bangor, whose diocese comprised all the lands lying from Chester to the Menai Straits. 3. The Abbot of Chester. 4. The Augustine Prior of Norton. 5. The Benedictine Prior of Birkenhead. 6. The Cistercian Abbot of Stanlaw. 7. The Cistercian Abbot of Combermere. [Some add erroneously—8, the Abbot of Vale Royal.]

It is probable that others still were added to this Parliament, among whom it is allowable to reckon first Lupus's partner, cousin and friend, Robert de Rodelent, who became commander-in-chief of his forces. Under the name of d'Avranches, he was knighted at the court of the Confessor; and retiring to Normandy, he afterwards was one of the companions of the Conqueror. He received certain grants jointly with Lupus, as the right to govern all territories wrested from the Welsh. The whole diocese of Bangor was by him obtained in this way. He built the castle of Rhuddlan, whence he assumed the name "de Rodelent;" and rebuilt that of Deganwy (Dinas Gonway or Conway.) To the monks of Ultica, he gave with other things, the manor, tithes and church of West Kirkby in Wirral, "the church of the Island," (most probably the cell or chantry on Hilbre Island), and the church of St. Peter at Chester. Of two sons, one was drowned, and the other, supposed to be illegitimate, held the manor‡ and church of Thurstanston, from which he assumed his surname.

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* "Where almost all the powers of Cheshire got together,
By Venables (there great,) and Vernon mustered thither."

† "There Dutton, Dutton kills; a Done doth kill a Done;
A Booth, a Booth; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrown;
A Venables against a Venables doth stand,
And Troutbeck fighteth with a Troutbeck hand to hand.
There Molyneux doth make a Molyneux to die,
And Egerton the strength of Egerton doth try.
Oh Cheshire, wert thou mad! of thine own native gore,
So much, until this day, thou never shed'st before,
Above two thousand men upon the earth were thrown,
Of which the greatest part were naturally thine own."

‡ The great grand-daughter of Matthew conveyed the manor, by her marriage, to Patrick of Heswall, High Sheriff of Chester 5 Edward I. Their only daughter married Robert of Whitmore, whose direct descendants remained in uninterrupted possession till 1751, when it became the property of six co-heiresses. Proceedings in Chancery took place, by which the manor and hall of Thurstanston were settled in 1816 upon Mrs. Lucy Brown, of Marchwiel Hall, Co. Denbigh, and at her decease they became the property of their present occupier Colonel Glegg.

SIXTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 1st April, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Ph.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificate of one Candidate for Membership was read for the first time.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members:—

John G. Jacob, 56, Church Street.
Rev. Thos. Faulkner Lee, M.A., of the Grammar School, Lancaster.
Thomas Symes Warry, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

From the Editor.	Guide to Northern Archæology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. Edited by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere, 8vo. 1848.
From Thos. Moore, Sen., Esq.	A Document on the regulation of time in Liverpool.
From the Rev. Dr. Thom.	Fragments of ancient Pottery from Eddisbury Hill in Cheshire.
	Fragments of Bones from the same place.
	A rubbing and drawing of a Coat of Arms, from a brass plate in Tarvin Church, Cheshire.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED:—

By the Rev. John W. Hill, Waverton, Cheshire.	Several impressions of Seals connected with Fountains Abbey.
By Joseph Boult, Esq.	Twelve specimens of a Work on Church Monuments, by Mr. Gibbs of Wigan.
By J. G. Woodhouse, Esq.	An agreement for 500 pipes of Bronte Wine, between Lord Nelson and the Messrs. Woodhouse; the wine to be delivered to His Majesty's ships lying in the Mediterranean. Much of the document was in Nelson's writing, and his signature was "Bronte and Nelson."

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., of London.	A collection of celts and bronze swords, found in various parts of Ireland.
By Dr. Hume.	Specimens of bones which are found in large quantities, at the caves of Cefn, near St. Asaph.
By Thos. Dorning Hibbert, Esq.	A large collection of letters and other MSS., relating to Lancashire and Cheshire persons and places; most of them of the time of James I., Charles I. and Charles II. They had come into his hands in a direct line from the original possessors. Several interesting passages were read.

Miscellaneous Communications.

1. Dr. Thom explained that the drawing and rubbing just presented by him, both referred to the engraving on a brass plate, inserted in the wall, at the south-east end of the Chancel of Tarvin Church. The plate was erected in memory of Henry Hardeware, who died in 1584, apparently at or near the period of his decease. Mr. Hardeware, who had held high civic offices in Chester, appears to have spent the latter portion of his life in the country. The arms, which are found on the plate along with his own, are those of the city of Chester; not dimidiated but entire. The pointed sword is interposed between the two upper garbs, and the hilt is inserted in the lowest or central one. The drawing was made by Mr George Charles, late of Tarporley.

2. Dr. Thom having heard of the discovery of burnt bones and pottery at Eddisbury Hill, in the spring of 1851, visited the spot in the autumn, accompanied by some friends. A labourer who had been present at the discovery conducted the party. In a field called the Sand-pit field, occupying the slope of a hill facing the south, was a collection of irregularly shaped stones of various sizes. This was the place where the articles had been discovered. The stones had formed a small arch or vault, under which was the urn, with its contents; and had been thrown together in preparing the field for the crop. The site is about half a mile to the south-east of the cairn of the trigonometrical surveyors; about the same distance from the large farm-house on Eddisbury Hill; and a few perches from the Roman road leading easterly from Chester. The precise spot was in a hollow, midway between two converging ridges. The stones which had covered the urn, were the common sandstone of the district, undressed. One had a very rude resemblance to the human bust; and another had rude carving like the capital W. written across three parallel lines. The urn had been broken when found; but portions of it and of the bones were strewed about. The former is of coarse baked clay, slightly indented; the latter seem to have been subjected to the action of fire. From a large fragment of the urn preserved by Mr. Dean of the adjoining farm house, it appears to have been nine or ten inches in diameter and four or five deep. Below

the rim, on the outer side, was an ornamental border of about two inches deep, consisting of alternate white and black squares.

3. In reference to the document exhibited by Mr. Woodhouse, a letter from which the following are extracts, was received a few days after the meeting. It is written by Mr. James Boardman of Aigburth. "I was on a visit to the late Mr. John Woodhouse at Marsala, during the vintage of 1814, and as you may suppose, wine was the theme of our conversation. I remember my kind host telling me of Nelson's purchases, and how the wine in question came to bear the name of Bronte. When Nelson was signing the order for the fleet, he said, 'Woodhouse, let the wine be good, for my brave fellows deserve a good glass; and let me have a few pipes for friends at home.' Mr. W. promised to do his best, but added, 'it wants a name, and nothing goes down in London without a fine name.' 'Well,' replied the hero in his own way, 'd—n it, call it *Bronte* after my new estate.' 'A good name too,' said Mr. W., 'but Bronte is a *nut* and not a *wine* district.' 'Don't mind that,' said Nelson, 'what do the folks in England know of Bronte? Let it be *Bronte*.' * * The wines of the Messrs. Woodhouse are the production of the Marsala and Mazzara districts, at the west end of Sicily."

4. Fountains Abbey, to which the seals exhibited refer, is still standing, in ruins. It is in Skeldale, in the county of York, about three miles south-west of Ripon. It was founded in 1132, by Thurstan Archbishop of York, for the support of thirteen monks, (originally sent from St. Mary's Abbey, York,) in a more austere mode of living. At first their means were so limited that they were obliged to lodge under the shadow of a large tree; but connecting themselves with the Cistercian order, the community at length rose to great wealth. At the dissolution, temp. Henry VIII., the yearly rent of their lands was £1073.

5. A communication having been read, from John F. Marsh, Esq., Town Clerk of Warrington, inviting—in his own name and that of some other gentlemen—the whole Society to meet at Warrington on the 7th of May, along with deputations from certain other societies, to examine the local antiquities;—

Resolved,—That the best thanks of the Society be given through Mr. Marsh, to the gentlemen at Warrington, and that the invitation be accepted.

PAPER.

Traces of the Britons, Saxons, and Danes in the Foreland of the Fylde.

By the Rev. Wm. Thornber, A.B., Blackpool.

At the close of a fine day, some weeks ago, I found myself after a pleasant walk on the height of Beryl, the highest hill on that range of cliffs, which defend the Foreland of the Fylde towards the north of Blackpool,

An Agreement made and entered into by the Right Hon.ble
[illegible] K.B. Duke of Bronte in
[illegible] be wanted for the vessel from Marsa:
[illegible] but all risks are to run by Mr: Woodhouse –

Bronte Nelson

for Brother self
John Woodhouse

from the ravages of the Irish sea. The sun was just dipping, in the royal majesty of purple and gold, his splendid orb into its watery bed, and the gloom and chill of evening were fast dispelling that rosy brightness in the west, the harbinger of fine weather. A broad expanse of water lay before me, unruffled by a breath of wind, of glassy brightness, and glittering as a mirror. All nature was solemn, even the plaintive wail of the sea-fowl was hushed; whilst the gentle murmur of the flowing tide and the music of the waves, shoaling among the pebbles on the beach, broke harmoniously on the ear. The mind loves to contemplate on such an evening—mine was turned inward upon itself, and as its mood grew more and more congenial, both ear and eye administered to its pensiveness. The sea before me spoke of immortality, "from age to age enduring and unchanged;" whilst the landscape behind, that told of change, excited thoughts and feelings full of charming sadness. "The Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans"—soliloquised I—"have looked upon thee, as I do now —hoary yet young, restless yet unwearied, marked with a thousand furrows yet unwrinkled. Incomprehensible, multitudinous sea, thou hast been a wonder to many races. Nor dost thou alone seem to speak of immortality: yonder broken, fractured coast of Wales on the south with its gorgeous hills, towering one above another; that land of Furness on the north, backed by the heights of Cumberland, the craggs of Lancashire, and the mountain fastnesses of Westmoreland, as well as those seven pinnacles of the Isle of Man, still appear at this distance to retain their bold outlines, presenting the same beautiful lineaments, which they did in ages by-gone. Can familiarity with such a scene ever render man insensible to its grandeur? The peasant of Switzerland regards with indifference the mountain glaciers, those vast piles of eternal ice, which fill and glaze the immense chasms between the summits of the Alps; yet they are amongst the most sublime and terrific phenomena of nature. Indignantly for myself I rejected such a thought; but, in my earnestness I had turned round, and a glimpse of the landscape suggested in a moment the sobering fact of my own weakness—I too might change. Still there were features, which the painted Briton might have recognized. The longitudinal ridge of the English Apennines, that once by its battlements of hills, separated the Brigantes from the Sistantii, elevated as of old the peaked vertebræ of its huge backbone, and poured its rivers with the same short precipitous descent into the sea, and a constant succession of tame, unbroken slopes, scarcely ever ex-

panding into a single majestic hill, still swelled in tiresome continuity of lengthened ridges; but the woods and forests were gone—the trackless moss of Marton, and the level flat of Thornton Marsh waved with corn-fields—the Hawes of Layton and Rossal displayed towns and comfortable homesteads—stately churches reared their heads, and cultivation had converted into meadows, the unwholesome sites of swampy morasses, meres, tarns, laches, and dubs. "Ah!" asked I aloud, "who has wrought these wonders—made the desert to blossom as a rose?"

That night I commenced a short history of the changes, which this remote section of our island has undergone, as well as some account of the different races of the people who effected them. Let me, however, at the outset crave your indulgence—my task is no light one, and to fulfil it, I must summon to my aid, ancient documents, much reading, conjecture, and tradition.

> "Tradition! oh! tradition! thou of the seraph tongue,
> The ark that links two ages, the ancient and the young."

It lies not within my province to speak much of the vast geological changes which have taken place in the district of the Foreland of the Fylde; but a slight epitome will, I trust, be pardoned. At a period called by Lyall the Newer Pliocene, the waves which now wash the beach of Blackpool must have hurled their fury against the foot of the English Apennines, the intermediate country being the bed of the sea. From some cause, it is clear, that there has been an elevation of the deposit of the basin, which now forms betwen the Ribble and the Wyre the segment of a circle. The water-worn appearance of the Apennine rocks, attested by the late Mr. Gilbertson, of Preston—the number of marine shells found in the sand, gravel, and marl, identical with those on the shore, and each species corresponding in number with those now found, those which are rare in the marl, still rare in the waters, and those which are abundant, still scattered profusely over the sands, unmistakably declare, that this tract of land was at some remote period a domain of the briny deep. From facts too numerous for me to narrate, it would appear, that the matter which composed the basin had been deposited, in a long course of years, by a slow and gentle action of the waters, as we may gather from the shells contained therein, not being much detrited—a great number of them perforated by carnivorous molluscs, and some few bearing the impression of marine plants. The deposit is also varied: at one time the sea having been surcharged with one kind of matter, at

another by another kind, of different colour and quality, now depositing laminæ of blue silt on a bed of deep marl, then sand intermixed with beds of gravel, and boulders transferred chiefly from the rocks of the north, or from Ireland.

Great changes have also occurred at the estuaries of the Ribble and Wyre, which make it manifest, especially at the former, that the sea is restoring the domain, which it had usurped. Long ago, it left Marton after destroying its forest, now called Marton Moss, leaving, however, the mere as a memorial of its occupation; the Hawes and Blowing Sands are cultivated fields, and the Horse Bank, with Waddum Thorp, overwhelmed by the sea in the reign of James the First, are again becoming dry land by its channel rapidly retreating to the west. But it is to the Wyre that I would draw your attention. There is reason to conjecture, that of yore Morecambe Bay was a large inland lake, even covering and including the site of Thornton Marsh, which lake was defended from the waves of the sea by a tongue of land defined by the subterranean forest that may be seen opposite Cleavleys, and which emptied itself into the ocean by two or more outlets. This is borne out by facts. Look at the vast sandbank called North Wharf, stretching out from Rossal Point, and left bare at low water for many a mile —trace the blocks of rocks in the sands, known by the names of "Rossal Gentlemen," running across the estuary and marking a line by their tall and singular shapes—observe the shallowness of the water, where once was the barrier between the lake and the sea, and then say, after you have read what West and Close affirm concerning the inroads of the wave on the Furness coast—whether there be no truth in the conjecture that Morecambe Bay was once an inland lake, destroyed in the prehistoric ages, and a portion of its basin gradually filled up by the detritus of the Apennines and the sand of the sea, the one being charged with the horns of deer, and the other with shells. And the same agents of destruction are at work at this day. Singleton Thorp, overwhelmed during the reign of Philip and Mary, only records the name of the old lords of Thornton; whilst the skier,* or stone-reef, once its site, speaks of its desolation, and two large rocks, Higher and Lower Gingle, point us to the two mansions of the same name, which the

* These huge singularly shaped red sand blocks fall from the marl cliffs, being formed thereon by water, which impregnated with calcide of lime and oxyde of iron petrifies, as it percolates, sand, stones, or other materials to which it has affinity. The vast inroad of the sea on the land is attested by these rocks being found at the utmost verge of the retiring wave.

Singletons afterwards erected on their estate at Whitingham, in the parish of Kirkham. The hostel of Pennystone also is no more; so the wanderer on the shore need not expect his *penny* pot of ale; nay, is debarred by a surrounding pool from mounting the rocky seat, to which the thirsty horseman formerly fastened his steed. Of these, tradition often speaks, and hands down the incidents of the fury of the storm that desolated the coast by the effects it had on the stones, which now stud its sands—"Penny stood, Carling fled, Redbank ran away."

It is fruitless to conjecture at what period the Fylde was first occupied; this we may say, that the colonists, advancing from the south, would necessarily expend years in cutting their way through forests and wading over morasses, before they penetrated the tract of land, afterwards named the territory of the Sistantii. When, however, they had settled themselves in the southern parts, we may conceive that the adventurers, first to pioneer the recesses of the Fylde, would be herdsmen, sent by their chiefs in search of pasture along the fertile hills of the Ribble and Wyre. Thus from Ribchester and Penwortham, they would advance to the heights of Kirkham where, without any doubt, as reliques attest, was established, in process of time, a British station. From this ancient seat, excursions would be made, and, as suitable situations were found, habitations erected upon them. When the Brigantes conquered the Sistantii, a short time before the invasion of the Romans, the number of settlers would be increased, and, perhaps for the first time, the swampy recesses of the forests and the islands of the marshes, such as Midgeland and Stockindale in Marton, would be occupied as asylums from the attack of merciless foes. These in return were compelled to submit to the Romans under Cerealis, whereon the Sistantii were for a season freed from their dominion; but this exemption continued not long; for Agricola, in his second campaign, attacked them among their estuaries and woods so strenuously, that the Sistantii were compelled to yield. This was in the summer of 79, and it appears that the general himself led the main body of his army among the estuaries, from the words "æstuaria" and "ipse" being connected, whilst his smaller detachments scoured the woods, &c. that flanked him on his march. But Agricola knew not only how to conquer, but how to retain his conquests. Such a general, therefore, would not fail to maintain his position by erecting stations, and that which had induced the Britons to select, induced the Romans to retain. Moreover, as roads would be as necessary as stations, he especially,

if the Sistantian Port were either on the Ribble or Wyre, would not be long before he ran them through the Fylde in the manner, which my other papers have described; and to the more northerly roads probably Galgacus refers, when in the year 84, he tells us, that the conquerors—"Corpora ipsa, ac manus sylvis ac paludibus emuniendis—conterunt."

I cannot possitively assert that the urns, skin-boats,* celts, amulets, &c., etched by your society and found at Kirkham and throughout the Fylde, belonged to the Britons prior to their subjection. Kirkham was evidently their chief town, and its inhabitants must have been rude; nor will I say with the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, of Manchester, that a great trade was transacted from and to the Sistantian Port, this I know, that the Phœnicians might descry our coast without the aid of a glass on their voyages to Anglesea, for on a fine day from Blackpool beach, I can see the straits which separate the island Mona Taciti from the main land; neither will I guess, that they grew barley, Gallic red and white wheat, &c., which they ground in such querns, as that in the possession of the late Dr. Moore, or brewed old October —curmi; one thing I may perfectly assert on the authority of Cæsar, that whilst those who lived in the interior, occupied themselves in the chase, those on the coast cultivated the land.

The Romans,† however, notwithstanding their thirst for conquest, introduced the arts of civilized life. Under their rule a new order of things commenced, and we begin to know something of the Britons. Tacitus speaking of the Brigantes, says "Civitas numerosissima provinciæ totius," and Palgrave asserts that the Britons were populous from Dumbarton, the metropolis of Strathclyde to the south bank of the Ribble. Indeed about two or three centuries after the Christian era, a change took place in the north of Britain; those who formerly occupied the midland of Scotland, betook themselves to the south, where they formed the above-named kingdom, which lasted from the fourth to the tenth century; but there also was another formed by Cymri in Cumberland and the adjacent districts, called the

* Last August another bronze instrument was found by the Rev. Mr. Banister, a foot above the clay beneath an 8½ feet deposit of peat, and within 20 yards of the spot of the fluted celt of Pilling Moss. It is in the shape of a laurel leaf—its length with the spike being 6½ inches, the greatest breadth $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch, and its thickness that of a penny in the centre, but tapering to a very thin edge at both sides. The point is rounded and as sharp as a razor.

† In September, 1852, a silver denarius of Faustina was discovered at the commencement of the Danes' pad on Stalmine moss. At the Poulton Breck railway station another of Domitian was found; though much corroded, the DOM was plain.

kingdom of the Cumbrians. Such being the case, we may expect to meet with British traces in permanent objects, customs, &c., and we are not disappointed. In Rossal and Kilgrimol, the districts on the estuaries of the Wyre and Ribble, we meet with names of British signification; the 'cambe' in Morecambe we still retain, when we say, that a man with crooked shanks has *game* legs. But the appellatives of rivers on account of their running through long tracts of countries, are more likely to preserve their primitive names than towns or hamlets, which are circumscribed in their locality. Thus the river Levens, I am told in Ord's Cleaveland, is a pure British word signifying, the Queen of Heaven; so also in Wyre, Savok, and Belisama, we find traces of the same people; yes, in the name of Belisama, although Dr. Bell's* mode of slighting the Ribble, has almost as much startled me as his assumption, that few persons can now be found to assert that language is the gift of God. But I myself must be careful, lest, in attempting to prove that Belisama, the Ribble, signifies the Queen of Heaven—the moon, and that Minerva is a personification of her, I also become liable to the charge of presuming to deify a crotchet of my own fancy. Camden tells us, that the Wharf was worshipped under the name Verbeia, and Whitaker, the Lune under that of Iaolanus, both grounding their belief, on altars found dedicated to these local deities. I believe that Ribble was honoured with the name of Minerva Belisama.

I need not say that rivers were worshipped in Britain from the earliest times, to so late a period as to be forbidden in the 16th of the canons made in the reign of Edgar, 960, and also in the canons of St. Anselm, A.D. 1102. If such was the case in the days of Christianity, we must not object to it in the times of pagan ignorance.

When men fell away from the worship of the true God to Sabæanism, they first regarded the sun and moon as possessing intelligences suited to become mediators between them and their creator; but perceiving that these luminaries were invisible for certain hours out of the twenty-four, they formed images, or fixed upon natural objects as their representatives—most frequently rivers or fountains. Now the worship of the moon was more extensive and more famous than that of the sun, and strange to say, she was adored as a male. One title given to her was, Bel, or Lord of Moist-

* Dr. Bell calls the god Bela, great northern river deity. At the source of the Seine he informs us that the ruins of a temple to the goddess Sequana have been found.

ures, and we are told by the author of the Life of Caracalla, who came to Carha on his birthday, in honour of the god Lunus, and in *whose time the temple of Minerva* was rebuilt at Ribchester, "that they who called the moon by a feminine name, and considered her as a woman would always be subject to female command; but that they who thought the moon a male god, should have dominion over women and not be subject to their intrigues." Thus much have I said, that you may not be startled to find the name of the goddess Minerva coupled with the masculine title Bel; although I shall have to show by-and-by, that the moon was conjointly worshipped with the sun as a female, thus as Semen, or Bel and Sema, husband and wife, mythologically personifying material nature. But whence make you sama the moon? Four lines from the Puranas of India will suffice.

> Sama the eldest son of Atri.
> Was the moon in human shape,
> Was a portion and form of Brahma,
> To whom the sacred isles in the west were allotted.

Let us now advance another step. The Greeks and the Romans were anxious to recognize their own deities in those of India and Egypt, because they were more ancient; so finding, in no single god of their own, the attributes of the sun, i.e. Belinus, Baal, Bel, Beel-samen, the mythologists, by their own philosophical or poetical process, appear to have elaborated from this Lord of the Sabæan idolatry both Jupiter and Apollo, the former as the king of heaven, the latter as the local deity of the sun. And this is accounted for apart from the sophistries of scholastic learning, when we recollect that the sun and king of heaven were the same at Babylon—but among the Greeks supposed to be separate existence. In the Orphic Hymn, Jove is invoked as a multiform deity, and we need not, therefore, be surprised at the dedicatory title Apollino Belino; for Herodian says, "some call the deity Apollo, which we call Belin"; thus in London the name is retained in Belin's-gate, *(Billingsgate)*. As they treated the gods, so they did the goddesses. The moon, therefore, was represented either by Diana, Juno, Venus, or Minerva, just according to the personification they wished to attribute to her. Cæsar, speaking of the gods and goddesses whom the Gauls worship, translates the Gallic Belisama by the term Minerva, "Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, post hunc Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem, et Minervam," Lib. vi, chap. 16. Here we have the

Britons, for the Celts are of the same race as the Gauls, worshipping Minerva Belisama. Let us seek for such a goddess at Ribchester.

The principal city on the banks of the Ribble (Belisama) in those days was Coccium—Ribchester;—as yet, Preston existed not. Although its ancient grandeur is no more, the constant discoveries of coins, altars, &c. proclaim what it once was. The greatest discovery ever made was that of the ruins of a temple, which, since the digging up of a helmeted head of brass, with a Sphynx for a crest, has been universally pronounced to have been dedicated to Minerva; nay, Whitaker has proved this from a flagstone, which once rested above the main entrance, having on it an inscription, and addressing Minerva as "praep ñ et reg.", which that antiquarian reads "præpotenti numini et reginæ," wondering how she came to the title, having no idea that regina was coupled with Belisama, queen of heaven. Of the two first words praep ñ, I should have wished another interpretation, say, præposito numini; but the difficulty is great, so I must be content. Had the Doctor ever considered the passage of Cæsar above quoted, and known of the ancient stone inscribed to Minerva Belisama, (Boch. Geog. Sac.) he would not have hesitated in allowing to her the title of queen. But I have other proofs to adduce, from altars found at Ribchester, to strengthen my argument. There is one, and there is only another similar in England, dedicated to "Diis Matronibus," and who else can they be, but Juno, Diana, Venus, and Minerva, each a personification of the moon. Moreover, the the altars inscribed to Mars and Apollo are favourable to my hypothesis; for each of these deities is frequently styled Balenus, and I said above, that the sun and moon were jointly worshipped as a female. Nay, in the hymn of Callimachus, Pallas is invoked as synonymous with, i.e., as a personification of the earliest saffron-coloured light of morning, as Dr. Dodd confirms in a note to his translation. "The name of Athene," says that learned but unfortunate annotator, "is derived from the Hebrew Ath and Thene, a serpent or dragon, being known-emblems of light in its darting motion," and two serpents are represented on each side of the face of the helmet discovered at Ribchester.

Nor is the worship of the sun and moon even now forgotten—firmly has it been implanted—ages have not uprooted it—Christianity has not banished it. I myself have seen the Beltain—the fire in honour of the sun, or, as our country people would call it, the Teanla, celebrated on Halloween with blazing fires and leapings through them. I have heard it also asserted by

well accredited men, that only a few years ago the bride and bridegroom, when setting out from Marton to Poulton church, as well as the fishermen on the coast, took all care to bend their steps and to turn their boats, not Weddershins, for that would have been a slighting of Bel; but sunwise, as expecting no happiness, did he not smile upon them; and I have been told again and again by old Mr. Banks, of Blackpool, that when he was young, some eighty years ago, the country folk were wont to boil in milk a yellowish stone—(was it amber?) and on it becoming soft, and the milk cold, to drink it in the face of the sun when he was first seen to rise. These are remarkable facts; but some account of the Teanla, which, on a less scale than formerly, was so lately as last year celebrated in Carlton, in order to defend the corn from darnel, &c., and the herds from disease, must close my remarks on the Fylde Britons.

I am here however met with a denial, that the Beltain and Teanla are the same; because we do not light our fires exactly on any one of the four great festivals of the Druids; but in India, in the ceremonies of the Dermah Rajah, as well as in Wales, the Beltain is observed on the very eve, viz., that of Allhallows, on which the Teanla is observed; or if this be not sufficient, I must lay the fault of the advance of a few weeks on the Romanists, who have adapted the festival to their own purposes; for Gregory, we are told, observing how the converted Pagans clung to their ancient observances, founded christian institutions upon them. Thus the Teanla, by dropping Bel, and adding la, (in Irish, day,) or as I have seen it spelt—low, a blaze, was converted into a ceremony for lighting with torches souls out of prison, whence, a field in Poulton Green was called Purgatory, where on Halloween, the votaries of superstition were wont to run in a circle, not resting from their toil, as long as the priest's ear could distinguish, when applied to the ground, the groans of the sufferers, which vulgar opinion represented as growing less and less, as the zeal of their friends increased.

In different places throughout the Fylde, round cairns of fire-broken stones are still to be seen where the Beltain or Teanla had been observed. Those, however, of Stonyhill, near Blackpool and Hardhorn, (Hordern, from Heord cattle, and Earn cottage, stall &c.,) near Poulton, will be sufficient for me to describe. Of the former, which gave its name to the place, many wonders are spoken. Its antiquity is undoubted from the attempt to account for the fire-broken granite boulders, which cover acres, by naming

the locality as a Danish camp, that it had undergone some volcanic action, or that two fiends, red hot from Tartarus, met here in battle, and using the stones from the shore, battered each other so lustily, that the boulders, heated by their hands, were shivered against their bodies. The round cairn was removed in order to erect on the ground the Lodge of Stonyhill; its broken contents in prodigious numbers are met with in every direction. As at this Teanla cairn, the flocks of the great pasture of the Hawes were blessed, so those of Hardhorn were used for the same purpose; but here adjoining the cairns are attached two wells, the one celebrated as Fairy, or Wrangdomwell, and the other, issuing from a huge oblong mound of stones, as Bel spring, or vulgarly Bull spring, in the Bull meadows, evidently bearing the same name as Beltain meadow in Blackpool. Here on this Hardhorn oblong cairn, ceremonies were observed for the purpose of securing health to the herds of the farmers in the township—to free the wheat-land from tares, weed, &c.—to bring good luck to the votaries, and to enquire into the secrets of futurity. The ceremony was thus:—first, large fires were lighted, two or three families joining at a circular cairn, the ashes of which were carefully collected. Then the white stones, which at first, had circled the fire were thrown into the ashes, and being left all night, were sought for with anxious care at sunrise, when the person who could not distinguish his own particular boulder was considered *fey*, i.e., some misfortune would happen to him, during the course of the ensuing year. As a finale, the stones recognised were thrown, as an offering, on the oblong cairn to the god or saint who presided over it and the well, and thus, such collections were made in a succession of years, as to astonish the curious. The water of the wells also had a sovereign virtue for healing diseases of men and cattle. Fairy well is even yet visited for such a purpose. To succeed in obtaining a cure, however, the patient, escorted by his friends, was made to pass through the cairn, then he was sprinkled or dipped in the well, and lastly, he made an offering of a shell, a pin, a rusty nail, or a rag, but principally three white stones burnt in the Teanla fire. It is surprising in what numbers pieces of iron may be picked up. I have found since the meadows were ploughed, nails, an old shaped knife, leather thongs, &c. The site of the large circular cairn is not now easily to be distinguished, since Mr. Fisher, the proprietor of the field, has carted away upwards of twenty loads of the refuse that composed it, but the soil around is burnt red and black. This farce was carried on in its pristine glory long after the reformation;

for rational Christianity, which had been almost lost previously, progressed but slowly in the district of the Fylde. Even the waters of Marton Mere, which once washed Storeton township, were held sacred, nor need this excite wonder, seeing that the hill of Presal, (the Pressonde of Doomsday), with its well was all but deified; and although the votaries, like those in the pool of Laconia, may not have cast into it cakes of bread-corn to Juno, yet a bush was named "Beggar's bush," from the circumstance of the offerings of rags and clouts being affixed to it, over which a prayer was said; for Bishop Hale ridicules a superstitious prayer for the blessing of clouts for the cure of diseases.

Such were the superstitions of Allhallow's e'en, memorials of Belisama, the worship of the sun and moon, under the Phœnician title of Bel and Samen, and Baal Schamain of the Hebrews, a worship so old, that we only say of the people, who deified the Ribble by its first name, as the Romans afterwards did by that of Minerva, they were of the ancient Celtic stock, and retained, on their arrival in the Foreland of the Fylde, the more recent customs, worship, and characters of oriental antiquity. Nor are many other traces of this idolatory wanting in modern times—the mother attaches to her infant's neck the coral ring—the adder's egg—not thinking the while, that she is performing a Druidical observance—she casts the extracted teeth of her boy, sprinkled with salt into the fire, lest he should have to seek them at the day of judgment, she cuts his hair, &c. under a favourable aspect of the moon. If Hanno, the Carthaginian, said in the Pœnula of Plautus, "O that the good Belsamen may favour them!" and if, according to O'Halloran, the cordial blessing of the Irish peasantry is, "The blessing of Samen and Bel be with you;" we too have heard the passer by express his good wishes to the newly married couple returning from church, "May the sun smile as brightly upon you through life, as it does this day!" Allhallows may be blotted out of the ultra-Protestant's calendar; but in the Allhallow's Church of Bispham and its sacred well in the garden adjoining, we shall have memorials of the former sanctity of the day, so long as one stone remains upon another.

The wrath of the Almighty was ready to burst on the Romans: their legionaries were called home to protect their own city, and the Britons, unable to defend themselves from the inroads of the Picts and Scots, were compelled, about the year 450, to seek the aid of the Saxons who, having found that the country was good and fair, after a long struggle, possessed

themselves of it, and by degrees amalgamating with the natives, imparted to the volatile and vivacious Celts their own sedate and persevering character. At the very outset of the struggle, Hengist and Horsa discomfited the marauders in the country of the Brigantes, compelling them to retreat within their own borders. They themselves, however, were disinclined to quit the country, and, though, after taking possession of Bremotonæcæ, Coccium, Mancunium, and Veratinum, yet nothing could resist the Saxon arms. Even Arthur's battles, three of which, according to Nennius, were fought upon the river "quod vocatur, Duglas, (Wigan) quod est in regione Linuis" availed only for a period; on, on the strangers advanced, till all England was subdued and the Heptarchy established, of which Northumbria included the Foreland of the Fylde.

The ministers of religion have ever been the media through which the records of history have been transmitted to us. With Christianity came light and light brought knowledge; but of that eventful period I can only speak as far as is necessary to elucidate what I have to relate concerning my own district. Bede informs us, that Columbkill came over from Ireland—and the Irish had held intercourse with the Britons from the end of the Roman era, which fact, in part, accounts for the similarity of our ancient customs with theirs—to preach in Britain, and that many monasteries were established by his missionaries on the coasts of Scotland, Wales, &c. from Iona, and from his eldest one of Dearmach, in Ireland. In 652, Oswald, king of Northumbria, sent for some of the Ecclesiastical followers of Columba to instruct his people, and Aidan of Iona undertook the mission, being succeeded by Finan, of the same sacred shrine, as overseer of the young church. Bede, whilst he tells us that they were "without knowledge," pronounces an eulogium on their character. On the appointment of Colman, the dispute concerning Easter arose to a high pitch; nothing daunted, however, he, aided by Ceadda, pleaded the practice of his predecessors against the Romanists, for whom Wilfrid was speaker, and one of whose arguments was, that all the churches in the world, excepting those of the *Scots, Picts, and Britons* kept Easter at the time fixed by the church.

Thus much have I said in order to connect the cemetery of Kilgrimol, about two miles on the south shore from Blackpool, with the ancient British church. Kills, the ancient names by which the infant establishments of Columba were recognised, had the Culdees for their priests, who, we are told, were the immediate followers of the Druids. The foundation

deed of Lytham priory, of which I shall have much to say, if permitted to continue these papers, as well as the voice of the country, points out a place called Church Slack, or Cross Slack, on the Hawes adjoining the sea shore, as the site of some old sacred building; and the antiquarian Ormerod avers, that the appellative of *Kilgrimol*, indicates there a Culdee establishment of remote antiquity. Others fancy also, that in Killamergh, an adjacent township, they perceive the echo of the same word "kill"; but I rather here prefer "kel," (wood), as we find in the name of Kellet, (at the wood). In describing, however, the boundaries of his new priory, Richard Fitz Roger says, "from the ditch of the *cemetery of Kilgrimol*, over which I have thrown a cross." Thus, it is evident, that he recognized the ground as holy, and erected a memorial of its sanctity on the spot. The ditch and cross have disappeared, either obliterated by the sand, or overwhelmed by the inroads of the sea—but, with tradition the locality is a favourite still; the *superstitio loci* marks the site; "the church," it says, "was swallowed up by an earthquake, together with the Teanla cairns of Stonyhill; but on Christmas eve, every one, since that time, on bending his ear to the ground, may distinguish clearly its bells pealing most merrily." Did indeed the monks, the recluses on this desert spot, entertain the doctrines, the purity of Columba? To us, the disputes about tonsure, Easter, &c. do not appear to have deserved such fierce contentions, yet, centuries elapsed, and still partizanship was continued; one party dedicated at Preston, a church to St. Wilfrid, the champion of the Romanists, the other consecrated another at Poulton to St. Chad, the friend of Colman, and Wilfrid's opponent.

At length, I find myself traversing Amounderness with the first authentic documents that mention it, in my hands, informing me that in the middle of the seventh century, Eata, abbot of Melrose, Scotland, founded a monastery at Rippon, which was subsequently granted by Alfred, king of Northumbria, to the above-named Wilfrid. At its consecration in 705, among other donations of the great Saxon princes, who witnessed the ceremony, lands near Ribble, in Hasmunderness were bestowed on the new foundation.—Mon. Ang. Where was the site of these lands? One antiquarian will guess, that Preston now stands upon them, thus connecting them with its patron saint; but it is even a matter of conjecture, whether the town was in existence. Certainly the church was not, for it would not be dedicated to St. Wilfrid, who was not yet canonized, for canonization re-

quired one hundred years to elapse to test the worthiness of the candidate for saintship. In the next century but one afterwards, the church-building era in the Fylde, we have a most important instrument of Athelstan, giving, A.D., 930, the whole hundred "quod solicolæ Agemunderness vocitant" to the church of York. It is in the bloated style of the Saxon Kings; still, we find from it that Amounderness was not part of the ancient demesnes of the crown, and that the monarch purchased it "propria et non modica pecunia" calling it "prædia * * * * obrizo empta auro." Of whom? His decisive battle of Brunnanburgh, which gave him the kingdom, was not fought till eight years after, and he was not till then sole monarch of England. Alfred, the king of Northumbria had, as we have seen, granted lands in Amounderness to Rippon, so it does not appear unlikely, that Athelstan purchased it of Alfred's or Wilfrid's successors. However this may be, the great price given, proves that the land was comparatively under some cultivation, and if not very populous, yet sufficiently inhabited by people to till the ground, for land would be valueless without serfs. Nor was the Fylde of small account in the bargain, as may be gathered from the fact, that Biscopham, (Bispham), in which parish lies Blackpool, is the only name in the hundred that echoes its ancient episcopal owners. Ask me not why an obscure village does so. Whitaker acknowledges it and wonders. Was the land more fertile here? It contained in the Doomsday Survey, eight car. of land fit for, or under the plough, being actually two more than any other town or hamlet possessed in Amounderness. Might the district steward reside here, or was there erected a church or oratory soon after Athelstan's grant? We have no record of one—the survey is silent—the sweeping charter of Roger of Poictou mentions the rent-charge of ten shillings given by Geoffrey, the sheriff, to God and St. Martin of Sees; but the appropriation of "capella de Biscopham" to the priory of Lancaster is not recorded till 1246. After the grant of Athelstan, no doubt Christianity progressed more favourably, yet with checks at times that threatened its very existence. From some unrecorded cause, the church of York was not in possession of Amounderness at the Norman conquest, either having lost it by escheat, or what is more likely, it had been rendered unproductive by the incessant ravages of the Danes and Norwegian-Danes; for even a very few years after coming into seizure of it, there was an invasion under Anlaf, who entered the Humber with 615 ships, and there united his forces with those of Constantine, his father-in-law, the

Prince of Cumberland. Christianity received a severe blow: according to tradition, a large idol of Woden was set up near Wedicar Hall—mark the name—in the Garstang township of Barnacre with Bonds, and Canute thought it necessary to publish an edict against the worship of the sun and moon, rivers, fountains, &c. Nay, we are told notwithstanding Wilfrid's exertions, and Dunstan's activity, that there was not before the conquest a single monk in all the Northumbrian territory.—Simn Dunelm. But to close this section of my paper, Canute gave Northumbria to the Norwegian jarl Eric, who was succeeded by Siward, immortalized in Macbeth, but, owing to his son Waltheof being too young to govern so important a fief, it was made over to Tosti, the brother of Harold, to whom, at the conquest, under the head of Yorkshire, Amounderness was taxed.

But the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed not their robbery of England in peace, as must already have been observed. At the close of the eighth century, the pirate Danes of the same Teutonic stock began their attacks, ravaging the kingdom, and, for about three hundred years becoming the terror of its inhabitants, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where they moored their ships. If one chief were routed, another sprang forward, more inaccessible to any appeals to the common feelings of humanity, and exulting more ferociously in the work of destruction. To obtain a cessation from these Vikings, who measured their glory in the world to come by the extent of their bloodshed in this, whole territories were ceded by the Saxons. An ever-craving thirst for plunder, however, hurried them on to break every treaty, till at length, to secure safety, the Danes were permitted to intermarry with their families, nay, to connect themselves with the blood royal, and, eventually, for a time to become the sovereigns of Britain. Six years after their arrival, in 787, the whole coast of Northumberland was desolated, and ever afterwards, from local circumstances, especially from Alfred having assigned it to the conquered Dane, Guthrum or Gorm, and to its contiguity to the Norwegian Isle of Man, bore the brunt of innumerable hostile attacks. Language cannot detail what this unhappy country suffered. In 966, Thored, the son of Gunner, plundered Westmoreland, and A.D. 1000, King Ethelred went into Cumberland and nearly laid waste the whole of it with his army, while his navy cruised about Chester with the intention of co-operating with his land forces.—Saxon Chron. Athelstan, to extinguish the spirit of rebellion, had previously marched into Northumbria, where he had fought the above-named battle of Brunnanburgh,

and had penetrated into Amounderness, if we are to believe William Elston, a descendant of the local family of Elston, (Ethelstan), a township of Preston, and living at the beginning of the 17th century, who says, "an ancestor of his had a deede, or a coppie of a deede in the Saxon tongue, wherein it did appear that king Ethelstan, lying in camp in this county upon occacon of wars, gave the land of Ethelstan unto one to whom he was Belsyre." I would not gainsay this, as it may aid my tradition, that a battle was fought at *Anglesholm*, near Poulton, where, in the memory of the late Mr. Buck, many loads of bones were disinterred and buried in our churchyard. All must admit that the name of the field is singular and well adapted to support such a tradition. I leave the matter, however, as a tradition; but the Vikings have left us better authenticated memorials of themselves in proverbs, illustrating their cruelty—in words yet in common use—in the names of our hamlets, and in the coins, ingots, rings, &c. found at Cuerdale, the chief of which, viz., 3,000 pieces, merely from their preponderating number, must have been the most common at the time in the north of England, when the treasure was hidden or lost, and that they were minted by Scandinavian kings in Northumbria appears to me beyond a doubt. But any one conversant with the Danish language and the provincialisms of the Fylde, will at once detect their former abode here. In the catalogue of a hundred words given by Worsaæ, more than one-half (sixty) are still in use amongst us. True, the broad Saxon predominates—the farmer's wife tells us that she is *ironing*, (*earn*, to run as new cheese does), making cheese; her husband laments over his *torfutted koaf*, (dead calf); their children, as they suck their toffee, call it *tockee*, and a flea, *fleck*, with a strange chuck of their tongues at the top of their mouths; whilst the old wife and gude man near the chimney-nook tell their neighbour loitering at the *speer*, or God speed stoop of the tales of Harry o' Bonks, Jack a Diggles, or Bill a Tho (of the Hall), lament over the rheumatism in their *tuases*, or request him to *tine* the door as the wind blows *gradely* keen through the *treeses*; still there are many Danish idioms and words in vogue. To move from one house to another, is to *flit*; to change your clothes, is to *skift* them, &c.; to stay where you are, is to *bide* there; to hold the *have*, (a shrimping net, Dan. haave); to *hesp* the door, is to latch it, &c.; the *scars* and *gnars* on the shore are from the Danish, ar &c.; *dad* and *mam*, *dough*, *tarn*, *rock*, *backbord*, *boose*, *crib*, *gripes*, *midding*, *threave* of corn, &c., are all Danish; but there is no end, so look at our names of places—Holmes are almost

innumerable, as Angle's Holm, Green Holmes, Thornton Holmes, &c.; hoos (hills) are not unfrequent, as Hoohill, (Wheelmill), Greenhalgh, Steno, &c.; then bys, wicks, dales, thorps, tarns, ings and brecks are everywhere, especially on the line of the Danes' pad, as Aggleby, Nateby, Westby, Rigby, and Sourby, Salwick, Elswick, Kirkham, Deepdale, Mythorp, Tarnacre, Staining, Poulton Breck, Norbreck, Warbreck, Larbreck, and Mowbreck, and Lund, (a grove). Nor are Danish appellatives wanting on our estuaries, rivers, and headlands, where we should expect to meet with them. Thus—Bourn, Naze, Neb of the Naze (Nees), Wyre,* (Vigr), Shippool, Skippa (Skibean, ship rivulet); Wall and Waln, as in Wallasea pool, (Vagr a bay). But I shall weary, so let me trace the pirates in an expression used to a friend about to undertake a journey—*farewell, go well* on your cruise—and conclude my account with three memorials of these desperadoes of the deep. In the constant expression, "Go to old Nick," we wish the denounced with Nikka, the Danish river sprite, and in the Euloaves and Yule-candles of Poulton, we see traces of their observance of Christmas; for with them, that festival was celebrated with greater glee than by any other people, therefore it is, that in those parts of the kingdom that endured their sway, the inhabitants have retained more distinctly the ancient memorials of that merry season. But in the curious tradition of the dun cow of Amounderness, I fancy that I catch a glimpse of that mythological creature, the cow Audhumbla, which may have swallowed our friend Tom Thumb; but supporting herself by licking off stones salt and hoar frost, fed by the streams that ran from her four teats, the giant Ymir. "Once upon a time," say our old wives "when all the people of Amounderness were in fear, lest they should perish for want of food; for a famine raged in the land—a cow presented herself amongst them, ready to nourish every family with milk, so long as no vessel was offered, which she could not fill. Envious persons were to be found then, as now, and envy is ever diligent to work mischief. An old witch, after much forethought, accomplished the destruction of the bountiful cow by milking her into a sieve, which, when unable to fill, so grieved the animal, that she wandered sorrowfully away to a hill near Preston, called Cow† Hill to this day, and there died." I have not varnished the story, nor indeed any other of my traditions which I have recorded. They may to many appear

* A stone very near the mouth of this river is called King's skier, *Virkings'* skier.
† One of its huge ribs is exhibited at Grimsargh Hall.

foolish, but they lead to grave reflections not unworthy of the antiquarian, the erudite historian, or the curious inquirer into the vagaries of human nature.

My paper, I fear, has transgressed the ordinary limits, but a few deductions must not be omitted. The very name *Fylde*, mal-treated as the word has been by Danes, Normans, and Antiquarians, indicates the flat marshy peculiarity of the district. Claiming as it does a cognomen from the earliest time, its signification must be sought for in the Saxon tongue, probably provincialised by the Danes from Field into File, Fyle; for in Norway the d in field—a mountain ridge—is almost silent in its pronunciation, thus becoming *fell*. In Pilling, I fancy that I see something like it, and Alfred in his version of Orosius, has on *pildum lændthum* in the plural number to denote level countries. This is the proper meaning, however individuals may wish to make it otherwise. Soon after the conquest, in the deeds of Whalley Abbey, referring to Staining Grange, I find ffeld latinized by "Campus," a corn-field, hencc the Fylde is now styled the corn-field of Amounderness. To make it "lima", a file, is nonsense. Moreover, if one cast his eye over the Doomsday record, he will see at once, how the predominating names of towns corroborate the signification I have given to the Fylde—Rossal, (ros, a marshy flat), Burne, Mereton, Wideton, &c., he may take as examples. And why is tun the termination of most names of places? Because the high grounds alone were fit for habitations, the low being covered with water, at least in winter, or with swampy morasses. Nor need the etymologist be a geographer to know that the Fylde is on the sea coast—Lidun, Wartun, &c. inform him; nor a farmer, for Lea, Latun, Shaininghe, Cartentun, &c., with their carucates will remind him of the herds that browsed in their pastures and meadows, and the husbandmen, (ceorls), free tenants that followed the plough; nor a builder, for Singleton will tell him, that habitations, superior to hovels of wattles and clay thatched with reeds, even cottages built and tiled with shingles (planks), afforded shelter to their occupiers, from the unwholesome swamps in their vicinity, and a refuge from the fierce blast of the interior sea; nor an ecclesiastic, for in Pres, Chicelram, Michels cherche, and Pressonde, he will distinguish spots sacred, on account of the residence of priests, and the erection of temples for the worship of the only true God. Such were the features which the Foreland of the Fylde represented before the Danes, the great northern insurrection, and the fury of William the Conqueror had made it a desolation so great, that his Survey thus records of Amounderness—"All these villages and three churches belong to Prestune. Of these sixteen (out of sixty) have few inhabitants; but how many inhabitants there may be is not known. The rest are waste. Roger de Poictou had it."

SEVENTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 6th May, 1852.

JAMES KENDRICK, M.D., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

William Ewart, M.P., 6, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, was duly elected an ordinary member.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies*.

	Transactions of the Numismatic Society, No. 16.

2. From the *Authors*.

	Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races; by John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Sec. S.A.
	Ancient Halls of Lancashire, by Alfred Rimmer, Esq.
	Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. part 9, by Chas. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.
	An Account of two ancient Chessmen made of jet, found in the Moat Hill near Warrington; by Dr. Kendrick.

3. From *other* Donors.

Robert Rawlinson, Esq.	Report of the General Board of Health, on the Township of Newton Heath, Lancashire.
John Harland, Esq.	Cuttings from the *Manchester Guardian*, on Antiquarian subjects.

John Mather, Esq. — "O ful tru un pertickler okeawnt o Greyt Eggshibishun e Lundun. (A tract in the dialect of Rochdale.)

W. W. Mortimer, Esq. — A volume of Newspapers, the Evening Mail, 1790.

A Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the British Archæological Association, held at Worcester, 1848,—edited by Alfred John Dunkin, Esq., was received in exchange for the Society's volumes ii. and iii.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Wm. Rathbone, Esq., Greenbank. — A silver tankard, presented by Charles II. to a Mr. Wolf of Madely in Shropshire, for secreting him in a barn, after the defeat of the King at Worcester.* This was the last of several articles of plate, presented by the King at the same time; on which occasion he granted him for crest a demi wolf holding a royal crown in its paws. The arms are engraved in front of the tankard, and there is an explanatory inscription on the lid. (See plate.)

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* The following is from "An Account of the Preservation of King Charles II., after the Battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself." The account was dictated by the King to Mr. Samuel Pepys, on Sunday the 3rd and Tuesday the 5th of October, 1680; and the edition from which this is taken is that of 1801, Edinburgh, pp. 17—21.

"We continued our way on to a village upon the Severn, where the fellow [Richard Penderell] told me there was an honest gentleman, one Mr. Woolfe, that lived in that town, where I might be with great safety; for that he had hiding holes for priests. But I would not go in till I knew a little of his mind, whether he would receive so dangerous a guest as me? and therefore stayed in a field, under a hedge, by a great tree, commanding him not to say it was I; but only to ask Mr. Woolfe. whether he would receive an English gentleman, a person of quality, to hide him the next day, till he could travel again by night, for I durst not go but by night.

"Mr. Woolfe, when the country-fellow told him that it was one that had escaped from the battle of Worcester, said, that for his part, it was so dangerous a thing to harbour any body that was known, that he would not venture his neck for any man, unless it were the King himself. Upon which, Richard Penderell, very indiscreetly, and without my leave, told him that it was I. Upon which Mr. Woolfe replied, that he should be very ready to venture all he had in the world to secure me. Upon which, Richard Penderell came and told me what he had done. At which I was a little troubled, but then there was no remedy, the day being just coming on, and I must either venture that or run some greater danger.

"So I came into the house a back way, where I found Mr. Woolfe, an old gentleman, who told me he was very sorry to see me there; because there was two companies of the militia foot, at that time, in arms in the town, and kept a guard to the ferry, to examine every body that came that way, in expectation of catching some that might be making their escape that way; and that he durst not put me into any of the hiding-holes of his house; because they had been discovered, and consequently if any search should be made, they would repair to these holes; and that therefore I had no other

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., London.	Three large implements of flint, which with a fourth now in the British Museum, were found about 1794 or 1795 in a cave three miles from the sea at the Bay of Honduras, by Captain William Stott of the merchant service. They were procured by Mr. Brackstone from a friend of Mr. Stott's after his decease. They are noticed in the *Archæological Journal* for 1851, p. 422, which states by mistake that they were found in 1810. They are among the largest objects of flint known to exist. Their uses are quite unknown.
By Mr. Garvin, Warrington.	A miniature of the Young Pretender, painted on silver, and found in a common sewer at Chester.
By Jas. Middleton, Esq.	A wheel-lock Gun.
	An Affghan Knife.
	A pair of Pistols in a case, with all the requisite accompaniments. On the inside of the case is inscribed "DONNÈ PAR LE PREMIER CONSUL BONAPARTE, AU GENERAL DE CORDOVA, CHEF D' ESCADRE DE SA MAJESTE CATHOLIQUE AN X DE LA REP: FRANC."

PAPERS.

I.—THE DANES IN LANCASHIRE.

By the late John Just, Esq., Grammar School, Bury.

A victorious people have always had a wide-spreading influence over the people subdued by them; an inferior race never withstood with effect a

way of security but to go into his barn, and there lye behind his corn and hay. So after he had given us some cold meat, that was ready, we, without making any bustle in the house, went and lay in the barn all the next day; when towards evening, his son, who had been prisoner at Shrewsbury, an honest man, was released and came home to his father's house. And as soon as ever it began to be a little darkish, Mr. Woolfe and his son brought us meat into the barn; and there we discoursed with them, whether we might safely get over the Severn into Wales; which they advised me by no means to adventure upon, because of the strict guards that were kept all along the Severn, where any passage could be found, for preventing any body's escaping that way into Wales."

Father Hodlestone, whose grandfather and seven grand-uncles—one of them Sir Wm. Hodlestone—raised two regiments for the King, adds various notes to the present account. He says here, "Mr. Francis Woolfe lived at Madely," [between Wellington and Bridgenorth in Shropshire.] For similar information, see "The civil Warres of Great Britain and Ireland, containing an exact history of their originall progress and happy end," London 1661; "Boscobel, or the compleat history of his Most Gracious Majesty's most miraculous preservation, after the Battle of Worcester," Worcester 1766; and Miss Srtickland's "Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies."

superior. The very fact that the Danes gained an ascendancy in many parts of England, and thoroughly subjugated others, proves their superiority over the Anglo-Saxons. The indigenous Britons felt the ameliorating influence of Roman superiority, and the civilization which formed an element of the Roman sway. The sturdy Saxon too, after the Roman era, introduced into the country a more improvable character than ever appertained to the Celt. The Anglo-Saxons settled down into a quiet life and more peaceful habits than the feuds of the petty princes and chieftains of the Cymry allowed. Their spirit exhausted itself in the struggles for mastery, and when the octarchy merged into the kingdom of England, the Anglo-Saxon was a plodding, patient, and persevering creature, almost such as we see in the genuine Lancastrian peasant. As the Danes settled down among the Anglo-Saxon population chiefly about the period of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, their influence was felt, and though evil prevailed at first, the amalgamation ended in good. The Romans were as superior to the aboriginal Britons, as the English of the present time are to the Affghans and Sikhs of India. The Anglo-Saxons, though not so refined as the Romans, were still an improvement upon the Romanized Celts, while the intermixture of Dane and Northman was lastly an advance upon the Anglo-Saxon sluggishness, and an exciting ingredient in the formation of what now constitutes the chivalrous, enterprising, and persevering Englishman.

Leaving to the Danes themselves to tell their own tales in their own way, and perhaps in their own favour more than in strict justice they ought, we undertake a sketch of their connexion with the county of Lancashire, and the effects consequent thereon, as the permanent result of their presence and settlements therein. Hitherto, history has unfolded nothing regarding the date when the "Vik-ings" first visited the Lancastrian coast and plundered the country, slaughtering the inhabitants. As their early visits were limited to the eastern coast, and their depredations commenced about A.D. 787, as recorded in the Saxon Chronicle;* we cannot assign dates to their movements in this quarter, nor discover the year when, for the first time, they landed on the Lancastrian coast. We know that A.D. 894, † the city of Chester fell into their hands under the redoubtable Hastings. This celebrated city, the Danes afterwards fortified, and made it one

* Sax. Chron. 65. † Sax. Chron. 25, 106.

of the chain which connected the west with the east, the Dee and the Mersey with the Humber. The body of the people along with Hastings was chiefly Danish. They had ventured along the southern coast, doubled the Land's End in Cornwall, and harassing, as they proceeded, the Welsh; they took and garrisoned Chester, on their way to the north. Another band down from the Orkneys, and from the rendezvous of the Isle of Man, which they had subdued, made frequent irruptions upon the Lancastrians. These, however, were chiefly Norse. The ancient Dane and the Norse were quite distinct, though often combined in their piratical expeditions. Even yet, the districts where either of the two prevailed, tells its tale in the names of places, persons, and customs which they have left behind them. The history of words implies the usages of people, and oftentimes more clearly points out facts than the obsolete habits, the existence of which they alone recognise and indicate.

When the Danes, whether along with Hastings, and subsequently, or from the Orkneys, Sodorcy and Man, the Norse, invaded the fertile districts of Lancashire—Cumberland and Westmoreland were under the dominion of the Cumrian Britons. On this district the Anglo-Saxons had made aggressions wherever they could. But, mountains to them were insuperable barriers. Only on the other, or western side of Morecambe Bay, had the Anglo-Saxons been able to obtain a footing against, and among the Cumbrians, who, with the absolute hatred with which they regarded the race, retired within their fastnesses, when overcome, and left the domain once and for ever to the successful foe. When King Alfred divided the kingdom into shires, he stepped not over the limits of the Mersey and the Humber. In aftertimes, when Cumberland and Westmoreland were ceded by the Scottish kings to the monarchs of England, the lower part of Furness Fells being of Anglo-Saxon race, was considered as a portion of Lancashire, and as before, so then it became an integral portion of the county of Lancaster. But ere this, the Danes had settled among the Anglo-Saxons, and, these hating those, yielded quiet possession of many districts. Danish names, and Norwegian terms, were imposed upon many a district, residence, and place. Lancashire was divided into hundreds like the Mercian dynasty, of which it had all along felt the influence. We, hence, can assign no period when the subdivision of hundreds took place, but that mentioned by Ingulphus; but we know that the Danish influence at the

time was so great, as to impose its own names on three of the five hundreds which Lancashire comprises. Vid. Ingulp Croy., B. ii, p. 44.

As hundreds were subdivisions in Denmark and France prior to Alfred's time, and Alfred adopted rather than ordained them, we may infer that, ere King Alfred's time, the Danes had obtained within Lancashire, many settlements which are distinguished by Danish names; yet, if we exclude Lancashire altogether from the sphere of his authority, and consider it with many, as a veritable portion of Northumbria—then it was under the jurisdiction of the Denelaga, and the hundreds must have been of Danish introduction. This, however, as will hereafter be seen, indicates a much greater Danish influence than ever prevailed within the county;—even yet, the southern division is more Mercian than Danish in its character. The evidence adduced by names, we will now produce, and assign such reasons as are most apparent.

The northern hundred of the shire is named Lonsdale, in consequence of the vale of the Lune being the head-quarters of the Danes in their settlements. Lonsdale is a true Danish word. The Danes, hence, had so much influence in the northen limit, that they could assign a name of their own to a hundred. Included within this hundred, is the territory across Morecambe Bay, called Lonsdale, north of the sands. Danish influence extended further also, as the sequel will shew. The second hundred, and the one adjoining Lonsdale, is called Amounderness; "ness" is certainly a more common name in Norse and Danish, than in Anglo-Saxon. Yet, as Aymundr or Omundr is a genuine Norse name, it seems more correct to assign the name of this hundred also to the Danes, than to the Anglo-Saxons. Most likely, the "Vik-ing" who first landed thereon was Omundr, and the whole district thence, in Danish parlance, obtained the appellative of Omundr's Promontory, or foreland at the entrance of the great bay.

To the third hundred lying more inland, the name of Blackburnshire, or Blagborne has been given. It seems from the term, first to have had a primary term applied; as if it had been a primary division such as Richmondshire, in Yorkshire, but subsequently fell into a secondary series. As a name it is, like the shire in which one of its titles terminates, wholly Anglo-Saxon. We shall see hereafter, that this part of the county offered no allurements to the Danes, who, as masters, settled down only where houses were built, the country cultivated, and abundance smiled, within a certain distance from the sea, the vast home of the old Vik-ings.

The fourth hundred is that of Salford, also inland and Saxon. Perhaps this hundred includes natives who are less mixed with Scandinavian population than any other in the north of England. As specimens of the Anglo-Saxon breed, that of genuine Mercians, this hundred supplies in the rural districts especially, multitudes of individuals male and female. The broad bulky chest and square shoulders, low broad foreheads, ruddy complexions, and sinewy legs and arms, show the make of the old Mercian; one who, though he might be slow in his movements, and not over ready in his apprehension, yet was difficult to put out of his way if he felt the disinclination. He had a low tower of strength in himself not found in any of his fellows. Only let him fight long enough, and the victory was ever his own.

The fifth and last hundred of the shire has much seacoast, and therefore, came more under Danish inspection. The name of West Derby is Danish, and also the name of the hundred. The Danes, therefore, had been within it, and had the honour of giving it its name. It was far, however, from being so much under Danish influence as the other Danish hundreds; the Danes, as we shall presently see, having limited their visits and settlements to the coast, the interior not being choice enough in condition and other incentives to attract such fastidious choosers, as had all civilized Europe for their selection, and who generally speaking, were capable of securing to themselves their own choice by force of arms.

The renowned Hastings reached Chester on the Wirrall, A.D. 894. After having been driven from pillar to post, and post to pillar throughout most of the southern districts of the kingdom by the hero of the Anglo-Saxons, Alfred himself, Chester fell into Hastings' hands, and he fortified the place. Alfred, however, hunted him out, besieged him in his fortress, and fleeing through North Wales from the victor, he repaired to his ships, and entering the Thames, sailed up past London, and wintered in the heart of the victorious monarch's kingdom. Truly named, Hastings was in haste everywhere, yet everywhere favoured by fortune, that fortune which oftentimes favours the clear head and the valiant right arm.*

We have introduced this digression, because South Lancashire being so near to the chief seat of Danish influence, when they predominated on the western coast, would be likely to be effected by the movements of those restless, and almost everywhere-present marauders. A.D. 910, Edward the

* Sax. Chron. 25, 106. Cam. vol. iii, p. 42.

Elder having defeated the Danes in a great battle at Wodensfield, fortified the confines of Northumbria and Mercia. In Chester, he fortified Chester itself, Runcorn, and Thelwall. In Lancashire, Manchester; showing that in the interior across the Mersey, the Mercians had then territory and influence. We proceed, therefore, with our subject, leaving open to inference, that the West Derby hundred was known and partially occupied ere this period, by the off-shoots of the great Danish movement under Hastings, and most likely, in many and minor ways and occasions by other adventurers from the kingdom-seeking sons of the north. Our first investigation will be confined to the hundred of West Derby, and to the evidence of local names within the same.

The word *by* is well known to be Danish, and especially of that section of the invaders who left the confines of Denmark, properly so called. Our English word *by*, as a suffix in the names of places, is derived from this word. *By*, means a fixed residence, and is exactly synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon, "bidan," to stay or abide, whence the modern English word "abode" has descended. Before the admixture of Danes and Norse among the Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon tongue had no such word in its vocabulary; all names of places then terminating in *by*, are as undoubtedly of Danish origin as Denmark itself is of the Danish occupation. West Derby then is of truly Danish derivation. The Danes settled at the place, and imposed the name of the spot, and thence from their greater jurisdiction there than elsewhere, it was transferred to the whole hundred. West Derby implies an East Derby, and Derbyshire sprung from that Derby, also indicates the superiority of the place in the terms we are describing. What East Derby then was to Derbyshire, West Derby was to the Derby hundred within the shire of Lancaster.

It was not so much owing to any inferiority in the warlike qualities of the Anglo-Saxons, that the Danes gained so frequently the mastery over them, as to the influence of Christianity. Just as Christianity by its reflex-influence prepared the way for the overthrow of the greatest and the last of all the vast empires that the world has ever seen or history recorded, viz.,—the Roman; so had a like feeling pervaded England, when the pagan Danes fell upon it. Then, ambition connected with talent and worth, found a fitting medium for action in the church and the cloister. The pen was handled by the mighty rather than the sword. The heart was softened by the greatest of all influences which can touch it to the core; and, though

it can make the bravest still more brave, it is in the passive voice, it is in the quiet endurance, the fortitude that fears not death, but overcomes it with the exultation of Martyrdom, that cries out God's will be done, and makes God's will its own, that Christianity triumphs. The brave Britons, whom the swarming legionaries of Rome could only partially conquer, and never entirely overawe, received Christianity from Constantine; and weakened in various ways, and exhausted by draughts to the empire, and monks going to Bangor and other places in thousands, they were afterwards not able to scare away a few Scots and Picts from the Roman Wall, but let them overcome the entire kingdom. Christianity conquered the Roman empire, and not Goth, and Hun, and Vandal. It divided the empire against itself —the sure premonitory symptom, that such was more than the divided house can stand. It is only when Christianity wields the high adjunct of civilization which it fosters and encourages in its adult state, that the highest courage and most indomitable fortitude co-exist with the still higher ennobling qualities of the true Christian character. When daring is felt to be a duty, then it joined to physical qualities of the perfect man, crowning him with a diadem of noble deeds, that shows him to be the prince of humanity.

If the Anglo-Saxons had settled in a goodly land, and quietly, comparatively speaking, enjoyed a prosperity unknown to them in their pagan homes on the continent—the sea; and during their unsettled movements, if they had built churches, and endowed monasteries with a princely magnificence, of which many a relic still adorns the land, the Danes, when they came, and saw, and conquered in many instances, fell into the same habits. Conquered Rome, converted and conquered its barbarian and heathen masters to the dominion of the cross. Anglo-Saxon converted his Danish neighbour, and subdued him with the cross. The higher the superstition of the pagan, the greater the devotee when he is converted. All along, the Danes had evinced a superstitious reverence for their mythology; Odin and Thor, a warrior's heaven, and warrior's delight mingled up cups of enchantment, more intoxicating than ale or mead, till men loathed life, if death met them not sword in hand, and despatched them to the nether world. Hence, when the Danes were converted to Christianity by their intercourse with the Anglo-Saxons, they transferred all their superstitious feelings to the emblems of Christianity, which the Anglo-Saxons had never done. The Danes, more than any other people reverenced their dead.

Wherever a hero fell, even if but a short time was at their command, it sufficed to cover his remains, and fix a mark on the spot. If nothing more suitable was at hand, they covered the hero's grave with the boat which had borne him up many a river to many a victory in many a land; and if more time allowed, they reared a banta-stone over his remains, or heaped up a "haugr" or hill, in memory of his name and actions. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; Scotland and Ireland near their coasts; and England contain many of these memorials yet, though the spoilers, the spade and the plough, and time more mighty than all, have assailed them on every hand. But when christianity upset the "hofs" of Thor and the sacred enclosures, and made fires of their temples and images, then crosses were reared over the christians' graves, and the customs of the pagan state transferred as far as could be allowed into the practices of their newly-adopted creed. This accounts for the great number of "Crosbys" in the Danish districts. On the coast of the West Derby hundred, there are "Great Crosby" and "Little Crosby," memorials of Danish residence, and Danish remains within the limits of such spots; evidences too of their early cultivation, when barrenness reigned around them.

We do not meet with many Danish settlements in Southern Lancashire. Though advantageously situated for their inroads, the country at the time was unfavourable; a low, swampy, boggy plain ran along almost from the Mersey to the Ribble, and penetrated inland beyond their ken on the coast. During the Roman sway, these bogs and marshes not being worthy of Roman occupation as fixed tenements, furnished retreats for the Britons when at variance with their masters. The turn outs of these days were into the marshy districts. This is the reason why the Romans had no fixed station nor military road within the West Derby hundred. Traces of temporary occupation may be found, but the great features of Roman residences are wanting. After the Romans, for a like reason, the Anglo-Saxons were but thinly scattered within the district, and hence, the Danes as spoilers, had little to do from their usual allurement.

Churches also were built by the naturalized Danes in all places where they settled; and just as easy as it is to recognize their dwellings by their *bys*, so is it to know the places where they reared their churches. Their name for a church was "kirkja." Hence in whatever compound name this word enters as a component, there it indicates a Danish origin. Hence

Kirkby, and Formby, and Ormskirk, and Kirkdale are places appertaining to the early Anglo-Danish history.

Dale is likewise a genuine Danish appellative; in Kirkdale, as already noticed, it enters. Besides this place in this hundred, we find Skelsmeredale, Ainsdale, Kirkdale, and Cuerdale; such as these are general names. Hereafter we shall notice (if needed) the particular.

The Danes formed no settlements as general localities along the Lancastrian banks of the Mersey. The Cheshire side had more charms for them, as being better cultivated from the natural advantages of the soil. The walls of Runcorn enabled them to sail up the river, until they fell in with the Roman roads, which enabled them to penetrate into Derbyshire and Northumbria. Nor did the Ribble furnish them with a much better choice; altogether, the territory was poor—too poor for their possession. Nor could the united energies of Saxon and Dane improve it. It was almost valueless when the Domboc registered the wealth of the kingdom. The only two places which the Danes seem to have noticed in their navigation of the Ribble, were Walton-le-Dale, and the more important Cuerdale, now renowned in archæology for the richest find of ancient coins recorded in history. It would be the wantonness of conjecture to presume for what purpose the Danes brought a treasure amounting to 7,000 pieces into Cuerdale, and equally so, to conceive a reason for their leaving them there. They, however, teach us a very valuable lesson in the habits and customs of the time, let the causes of their concealment be what they may. Bars of silver, amulets, broken rings, and ornaments of various kinds, such as we read of in Scandinavian Sagas, were mingled with the coins; many countries had been rifled for this treasure. Kufic, Italian, Byzantine, French, Anglo-Saxon coins were in the booty; besides 3,000 genuine Danish pieces, minted by kings and yarls on the continent, and within the precincts of the districts in which the Danes had settled. The coins are so well known, that further notice of them would be tedious and discursive.

Another discovery of Danish treasure was made at Harkirke, near Crosby, already mentioned. The coins here found were of a more recent deposit, and contained but one of Canute the Great. Recent times have introduced those changes into the hundred which disturb the surface of the ground for a variety of purposes. Almost stagnant previously, was the condition of the natives from the conquest until the beginning of the present century.

Cultivation had extended, but it was on a low scale, and with no tendency whatever to improvement. Nothing new in any way was introduced. The Saxon "timbered" his house as in the days of Alfred. Post and pillar, rushes and clay plaster interlarded; and a thatched roof was frequent as the residence of the peasant. The Dane kept to the shore, and contented himself chiefly with fishing. His habits had survived, but his spirit instinctively followed the feelings of his fathers. The sea was his farm. He dredged the coast and the estuary, had his boat and his innate love of danger, till Liverpool sprung up with the magic of eastern fable, and turned out many a rover to visit every region in the world. The race of the Vikings are, many of them, the richest merchants on the earth's surface.

II.—British Burial Places near Bolton, Co. Lancaster.

By Matthew Dawes, Esq., F.G.S.

In a densely populated manufacturing district, like the neighbourhood of Bolton, it is particularly interesting to find traces of the early inhabitants of this island, which the hand of time and the progress of civilization have still spared to the antiquary. I have therefore thrown together a few notes, briefly describing the British burial places which have been discovered near Bolton, during the last twenty-seven years; within which period five Tumuli have been exposed to view, the first, fourth, and fifth of which I personally inspected, accompanied in the latter instance by my friend Sir Henry E. L. Dryden, Bart., to whose pencil this Society is indebted for several of the drawings which illustrate this paper, and for the plan and view of the stone circle hereafter mentioned.

No. 1. Near Haulgh Hall, about a quarter of a mile South-east from Bolton Parish Church, on a piece of high flat land, on the East bank of the Croal, and about fifty feet above that river, was a Tumulus, about thirty feet in diameter and four feet deep, consisting of small boulders. The subsoil here is gravel. It was discovered in September 1825, in forming a branch of the new road leading from Bolton to Bury. It was probably much depressed since its formation, and was covered with a few inches of mould. The cop, or fence, crossed it in a North and South direction. About the centre of this Tumulus was a cist-vaen, about four feet six inches long and one foot deep, formed of four upright stones and a

FIG 1.

FIG 2.

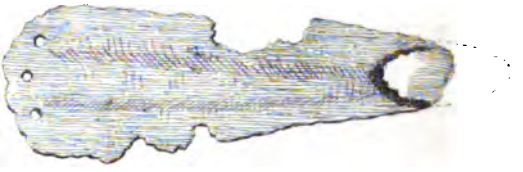


FIG 5.

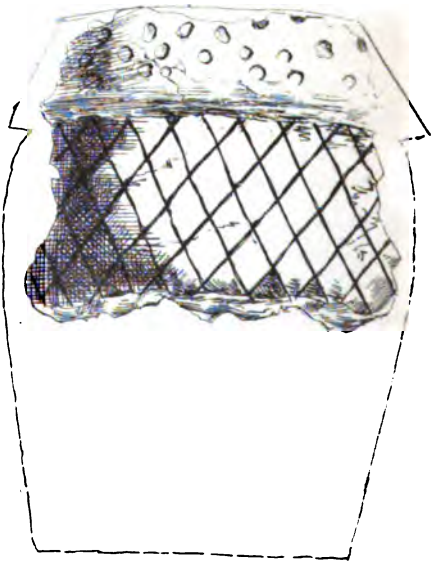
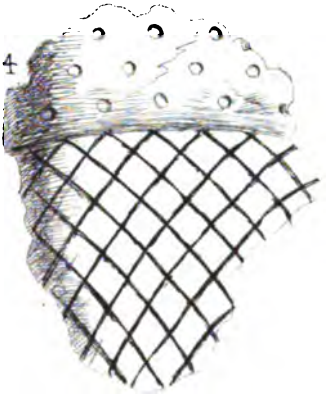


FIG 4



coverer, and its length was nearly North and South. In this cist-vaen was a skeleton, with the legs doubled up, and the head to the North. Near the head and on the West side was found an urn inverted, (fig. 1) 4¼ inches in the widest diameter and 3¼ high, and perforated by four small holes below the widest part. On the other side of the head was a bronze spearhead, 4⅜ inches long and 1⅜ inch wide, (fig. 2) of which the point was bent back and a piece of the side chipped away. The urn and spearhead were taken to the Countess of Bradford, the Earl of Bradford being the owner of the land. The Watling Street from Mancunium (Manchester) to Coccium (Ribchester) running N.W. and S.E., passes within three miles N.E. of this Tumulus.

A man, in the employ of the Earl of Bradford, the superintendent of the workmen who made the discovery, informs me (1852) that two other Tumuli [Nos. 2 and 3] were found shortly after the one just described, a few yards to the South of it, in the same fence; but of this fact I was not, until lately, made aware.

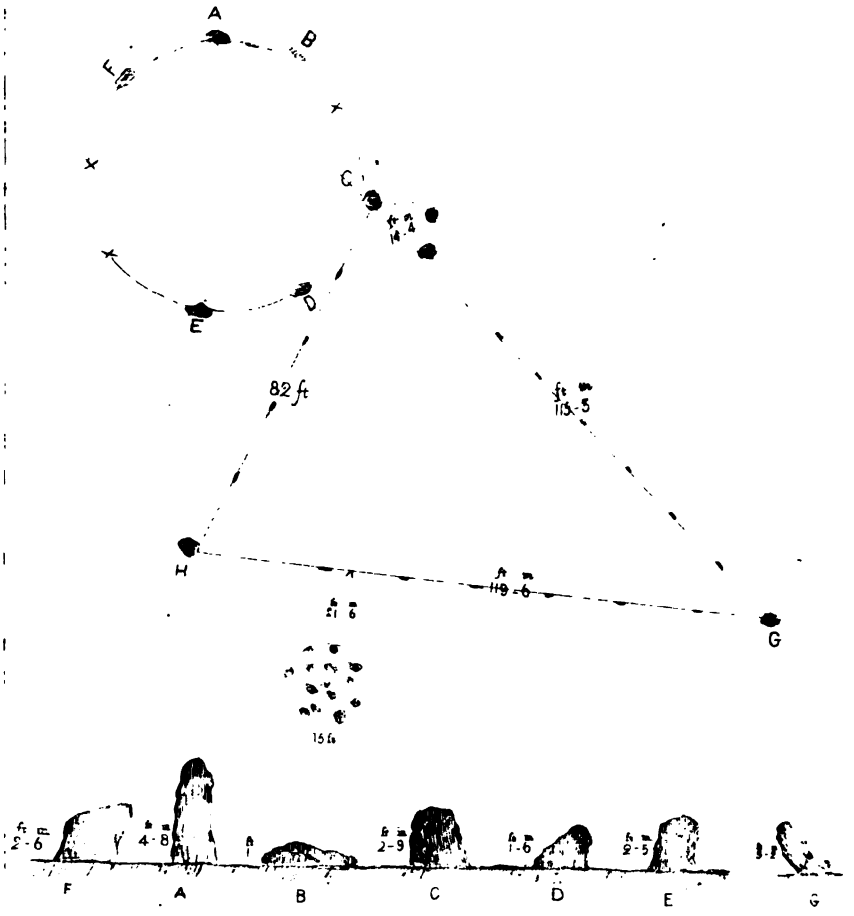
No. 4. The next discovery was made in digging for the foundations of the Church lately erected at Walmersley, three miles North of Bolton Parish Church, and about 100 yards West of the turnpike-road to Blackburn. This was on the Southerly end of a long knoll, on the East side of Eagley Brook, and about fifty feet above the water; but surrounded on all sides by much higher hills. The soil is gravel with fine sand. It was discovered in 1838, but I was not informed of the circumstance until some days afterwards, so that my description is taken almost entirely from the workmen. This burial place consisted of a Tumulus of boulders, like the one at Haulgh Hall; but these and the earth had, when I visited the spot, been nearly all removed. In the centre of the heap of boulders was a cist-vaen, containing a skeleton, lying North by East and South by West, and a grey urn, ill baked, and broken to small fragments by the workmen, from whose information it must have been four or five inches in diameter. With this urn was a white flint celt, or knife, about 2½ inches long, and 1¼ inches broad. This flint was afterwards lent by me to a temporary museum at Salford, and thence stolen. On the hill, called Turton Heights, about one mile North by East of this burial place, is a stone circle, (hereafter described), and at about a mile and a half S.W., on a part of Smithills Deane, called Egbert Dean, were found, about 40 years since, a stone hammer, and a bronze paalstab, now (1852) in my possession.

No. 5. The next and last discovery of this kind was made in November 1851, on the edge of the West bank of the river Croal, about one mile South-west from Bolton parish church, and 100 yards East of the turnpike road to Manchester. The bank is sixty or seventy feet above the water, and commands a view of the surrounding country for some miles, and is composed entirely of gravel. This burial place consisted of a Tumulus about fifteen feet diameter, and four feet deep, formed of boulders, of from three to eight inches diameter. About two feet in thickness of earth covered the stones; in the middle of the Tumulus, was an urn about two feet high and one foot three inches wide, (by the workmen's account), inverted and sunk about six inches into the earth, below the boulders. This urn contained the burnt bones of a very young person, together with bones of one or two small animals; and in or close to the urn was a relic, which, by the workmen's description, was a piece of what is called Kimmeridge Coal-money. A small clay bead was also found; but as no care was taken to preserve the remains, the urn was broken to fragments, and probably other beads were lost. Some of the fragments are in the possession of Mr. Piggot, Steward to the Earl of Bradford, and some are in my possession; of the latter of which I send drawings, (fig. 4). The urn is figured here, (fig. 5), of the size described by the workmen, restored by Sir Henry Dryden; but, as the curve of one of the fragments, at undoubtedly the largest part, gives a diameter of one foot and half an inch only, Sir Henry doubts whether the urn was as much as two feet high. The ornamentation is rude and irregular. There are one or two urns something like this in shape, but not in ornament, figured in Sir R. C. Hoare's beautiful work.

The circle of stones referred to, (in No. 4), is on the north end of Chetham's Close, which is the southerly and highest division of a hill called Turton Heights, lying on the east side of the road from Bolton to Blackburn. The top of this hill is boggy: near the circle is a trigonometrical station, whose altitude is marked on the Ordnance Map, 1075.

I accompanied Sir Henry Dryden to visit these remains in 1850, and at that time, there remained six stones upright, varying in height from one foot to four feet eight inches, and in width, from one foot six inches to four feet, and in thickness, from eleven inches to two feet. Judging from the relative distances of those remaining, three stones have been taken away. See *Plate*.

At 115 feet S.E. from the circle is a single stone; and at 82 feet S.W. is another; and between these two stones is an assemblage of smaller stones only just appearing out of the boggy soil. This circle is about a mile and a half S.W. of the Roman Road before-mentioned.


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
82 ft
115·5
119·6
15 ft
2·6
4·8
2·9
1·6
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F
A
B
C
D
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G

EIGHTH MEETING.

Royal Institution, 10th June, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

[This was the last Meeting of the Session, and it was held at one o'clock p.m., in accordance with the resolution p. 5. Ladies were present, as well as a large number of the Council and Officers of similar Societies in town, to whom cards had been sent. As in the case of the former Day Meeting—see Appendix—the Honorary Curator had arranged a temporary Museum of Antiquities in the room. The Museum of the Royal Institution was also open to members and visitors; and Mr. Mayer had again invited the whole party to inspect his Egyptian Museum.]

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

From J. G. Woodhouse, Esq.	Thirty-five Greek and Roman silver coins; with several hundred Roman and mediæval coins and local tokens of copper.
From the Author.	The History and Antiquities of Lancaster, by the Rev. Robert Simpson, M.A., Incumbent of Skerton.
From Peter Rylands, Esq., Warrington.	Marwade's Trade List for Liverpool, of date April, 1811.
From the Secretary of the Liverpool Architectural Society.	Report of the Society for Session IV., ending 1st May, 1852.
From Richard Brooke, F.S.A.	An original plan of Gawsworth Grounds.
From John Buck Lloyd, Esq.	A large iron chest, formerly used for containing the muniments of the Gildart Family.
From Jos. Mayer, F.S.A.	An etching of the old house at Great Madeley in Staffordshire, where* tradition asserts that Charles II. was secreted after the Battle of Worcester. On the front of it is the inscription—WALK KNAVE, WHAT LOOKEST AT?—which is thus accounted for. Some

* The tradition is an error, caused by similarity of names. It was at Madeley in Shropshire, called for distinction "Madeley-Market," that Charles was secreted. See page 120.

straggling horsemen in pursuit, having looked at the house passed on. A solitary trooper who followed, scanning it more attentively, the loyal owner who was on the watch, asked him the question; and having successfully enforced his speech with the argument of the quarter staff, the King ordered that the words should be placed on the west front, facing the road.

From Thos Tobin, Esq., Ballincollig, Cork. — An etching of the gold torque in his collection.

Etchings of four other Irish objects of antiquity.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Thomas Dorning Hibbert, Esq. — The six original letters of which an account was afterwards given to the meeting.

By Mrs. James Dunlop, Everton Road. — Four earthenware heads of small size, used in ornamenting the buildings of the ancient Mexicans. No bodies are ever found connected with them.

An arrow head of black flint, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

By W. G. Herdman, Esq. — Drawings of the following places of worship, in illustration of the Rev. Dr. Thom's paper, viz. :—Old St Catherine's Church, the old Chapel Newington, St. Andrew's Cockspur Street, Lime Street Chapel. A model of St. Matthew's Church, Key Street.

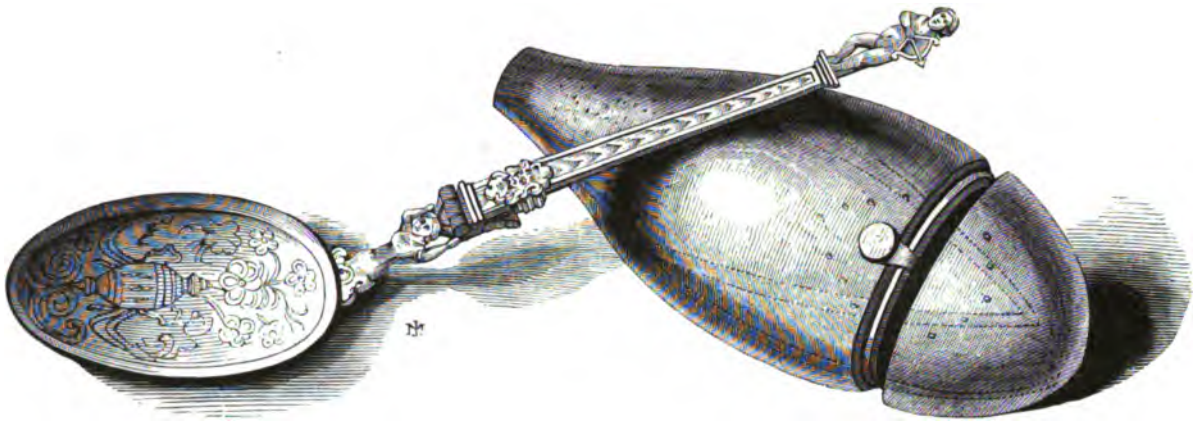
A large collection of sketches, representing old houses and antiquities in Liverpool, many of which have been destroyed.

By Wm. H. Dobie, Esq. — A watch said to have been worn by Prince Charles Edward. At a levee in Holyrood Palace, shortly before the battle of Culloden, he presented it to a lady whose son had rendered him an important service. The thumb pieces are set with diamonds. (The curious watches noticed at page 64 were again exhibited along with it.)

By Mrs. Phillips, Belle-Vue. — A series of views of Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire.

By John Mather, Esq. — A large oil painting, being a view of the Wishing-gate formerly on the North shore.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. — The spoon of Prince Charles Edward, and its case. See *Plate*.—The spoon has a joint



SPOON WITH CASE, OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

In the possession of JOSEPH MAYER, Esq. Liverpool.

BOOK ILLING

IN LIMOGES ENAMEL

In the possession of JOSEPH MAYER Esq. Liverpool.

near the heel of the bowl, which allows it to be folded up, in order to fit in the case. This makes it more portable, a very desirable quality at that time, when people were obliged to carry their own silver spoons, as the usual articles of that kind then in use were made of pewter. It was presented to the ancestor of the person from whom Mr. Mayer purchased it, by the young Chevalier; as a remembrance of him, and as an acknowledgment for the hospitality which he received during his stay in Manchester, on his intended march to London, in 1745.

Book Illing in Limoges enamel. Soon after the art of glazing pottery was discovered by Luca della Robia, enamelling became very much used for many purposes, and at Limoges there was established a manufactory, where the art was carried to great perfection. It was applied, however, in a different way, having for its basis thin sheets of copper, instead of terra-cotta; and many of the specimens then made have never been surpassed for the purity of colour and the texture of the body. Amongst other uses, it was employed in ornamenting the covers of books; and there are many examples still remaining of the beautifully illuminated manuscripts of that period, having illings richly ornamented with figures and other devices in high relief on copper. They are then exquisitely enamelled with brilliant colours. The accompanying cut will give an idea of the style of ornamentation.

Miscellaneous Communications.

1. Mr. Richard Brooke, F.S.A., in a brief communication offered some new suggestions respecting the grounds at Gawsworth. A paper on the subject will be found in vol. ii. of Proceedings and Papers, pp. 200—210. From an examination made on the 20th of May last, he believes that the appearances do not indicate the remains of an ancient Tilting Ground, but "that they are nothing more than the remains of the quaint and formal hanging gardens, raised walks, terraces, pleasure grounds, artificial hillocks or mounts, flower and fruit gardens, ponds, &c., which were formerly common near old mansions in England." The "long and lofty terrace" mentioned by Ormerod, he regards merely as a raised walk; this is along the west side. There is a similar terrace at the east side of the garden, and

raised ground which may have been part of a terrace or a hanging garden, close behind the Hall. From the curvature in the surface of these, to allow the rain to run off, their want of accommodation for numerous spectators, and the nature of the adjoining ground, Mr. Brooke infers that they were not used by spectators at tournaments. The mount or hillock near the south end of each terrace, he regards as the position of a summer-house. The excavation supposed to have been a cock-pit, he supposes was merely a fish-pond, but admits that it might have served the former purpose. The excellent garden wall, which surrounds these remains on three sides, accounts in a great degree, it is supposed, for the good state of preservation in which they have remained till now. The ponds which exist, and others of which indications only are found, Mr. Brooke thinks were places for breeding fish, and never used for water jousts. Examples of pleasure grounds similar to those which he supposes to have existed at Gawsworth, were mentioned as having been formerly at Belvoir Castle, Risley in Derbyshire, Rock Savage and Broxton Hall in Cheshire. There were similar fish-ponds at Ashby-de-la-Zouch; and the other appearances were common. No part of the Church seems older than temp. Henry IV.

2. Mr. Brooke also made a communication relative to the old House of Correction of Liverpool to the following effect:

"The old House of Correction of Liverpool stood in Mount Pleasant, but for many years has not been used as a prison. I however can recollect prisoners being taken there, when I was a youth. It was built in 1776.

"A letter from Mr. James Neild, the philanthropist, dated 16th October, 1803, and which has been published in the Gentleman's Magazine* of that year, contains the following observations, on the House of Correction, after a personal inspection of it: 'The House of Correction built in 1776, is much improved since my former visit. The wanton severity of the Ducking Stool used upon a woman's first admission, is now discontinued, (it was formerly the punishment, in almost every Country Town in Cheshire and Lancashire, for scolds and brawling women.')

"It is much to be regretted, that Mr. Neild has not given us the date of his first visit to the prison, but it must have been subsequently to 1776, because the prison was not erected before that year. The above passage is a remarkable one, for it may be read, as if he meant it to convey to the reader the impression, that the Ducking Stool had been used, after the prison was erected; otherwise his expression 'the Ducking Stool used upon a woman's first admission is now discontinued,' seems scarcely applicable.

"In Cheshire, the Ducking Stool for punishing women, was usually called the 'Cucking Stool.' There are many other reasons for believing that this barbarous mode of punishment was discontinued at a much later period than is generally imagined. My father has seen in a part of Cheshire where he was at school, in a pond called the Cuckstool Pond, the upright post or standard, which had been part of the apparatus, for ducking women, and it was called the Cuckstool, or Cucking-stool; and not many years ago, I saw the title deeds of some property, near Macclesfield, in which it was described, as situate in 'the Cucking-stool Land.'

* Vol. lxxiii., page 1104.

OLD HOUSE AND "PLAGUE-STONE," IN THE WASH-LANE (*near Warrington*), CHESHIRE.

The Original in the possession of DR. KENDRICK, *Warrington.*

"A strong presumption of the use of such a mode of punishment, in comparatively modern times, is afforded, by a note, at the foot of Mr. Neild's remarks, in which he states as follows: 'What I have called a Ducking Stool, is in Cheshire called a Cucking Stool, i.e. a Choaking Stool. It is a standard, fixed at the entrance of a pond; to this is attached a long pole, at the extremity of which, is fastened a chair, in this the woman is placed, and undergoes a thorough ducking, thrice repeated. Such a one within the memory of persons now living, was in the great reservoir, in the Green Park.'"

3. Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, exhibited the ancient "Plague Stone" from the neighbourhood of that town, and explained the facts connected with it. During the Plague, in 1665, it formed part of the rounded coping of court yard wall, of a farm house. It was situated in the Wash Lane, Latchford. Tradition uniformly asserts that the Plague prevailed here, though there no historic notices of it; and that the money in payment for provisions and other necessaries, was deposited in the square hollow of the stone, in a mixture of vinegar and water. All communication with the inmates was of course cut off. The idea has gained strength of late that there were no such things as Plague Stones; for, no fewer than ten have been shown to be the sockets of way-side crosses. That was quite impossible in the present case, as the cavity is only four and a half inches square, and two deep. The stone also stood on private property, forty yards from the high road, and the date of the house is the *Puritan* one 1650. It is said that those who died of the pestilence were buried in an adjacent croft, for in such circumstances, interments in unconsecrated ground were not unusual; and in 1843, several skeletons were found at the spot. The accompanying view shows the house, the stepping stones in the lane, and the spot (A) where the stone stood.

PAPERS.

I.—Liverpool Churches and Chapels; their Destruction, Removal, or Alteration:

with Notices of Clergymen, Ministers, and Others.

By Rev. D. Thom, D.D., Ph. D, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

PART I.

It has struck me as likely to prove interesting to members of the Historic Society, were I to bring under their notice, within a reasonable compass, a view of the changes which have occurred in connection with ecclesiastical edifices now existing, or which at a former period have existed, in the town of Liverpool. Facts lying scattered throughout the pages of our local historians might, I have conceived, be brought together—circumstances not known generally, or if known hitherto untouched on, might be adverted to—and parties who, although possessed of temporary

notoriety, are now almost forgotten, might again acquire something like "a local habitation and a name." Some little advantages, I have thought, might be the result of this. The future investigator into Liverpool affairs might have a few hints suggested to him. Persons from a distance, whose information concerning the town had been derived from those who had long ceased to reside in it, or from antiquated directories and guide-books, instead of being startled and confused, on visiting it, at missing particular buildings, or being unable to hear of particular congregations, might be prepared for some of the alterations which time, and municipal improvements had produced. And the inhabitant of the town himself, to whom certain facts were previously unknown, might, if possessed of the antiquarian spirit, imbued with literary tastes, and taking an interest in the subject of religion, be enabled from time to time to pause, and contemplate spots, which, although now the scenes of commercial bustle and activity, were once hallowed by totally different associations. Thus considering, and thus influenced, I have now to submit to my colleagues a brief account of some of the changes which have passed over the ecclesiastical structures of this great mercantile emporium, as well as over the congregations worshipping in them. In doing so, I shall bestow a transient glance on the men by whose names, as writers or preachers, the churches or chapels named, may have been adorned, and by whose labours the persons assembling therein may have been benefited. Notorious facts and characters will be made to pass before the mind, and seasons of peculiar religious excitement will not be overlooked. Condensation and brevity, as a matter of course, I have been forced to study. For to sketch and suggest, not to fill up outlines and exhaust the subject, is what I have aimed at.

Two obvious divisions of my paper present themselves. First, buildings which have belonged to the Established Church; and second, such as all along have been occupied by Dissenters. Under these heads do I treat of my subject.

I.—Established Churches.

From among these, I select for particular consideration, 1, St. Catherine's, Temple Court; 2, St. Matthew's, (former;) 3, St. Matthew's, (present;) 4, St. Mary's, or the Church of the Blind; 5, St. Simon's; 6, St. Mary's, Harrington Street; 7, St. Matthias' former and present; 8, St. George's; 9, All Saints, now St. Joseph's; 10, St. Stephen's; and, 11, St. John the Evangelist's. Passing references to three other churches will follow.

1.—*St. Catherine's, Temple Court.*

This building was situated in Temple Court, off John Street and Matthew Street, and occupied the spot on which now stands the fire police station. Its form was octagonal; a circumstance from which—as my friend Mr. Richard Brooke acquaints me, and as I see mentioned in Mr. Boardman's recently published pamphlet, "Bentleyana,"*—those who attended it at first were popularly known by the appellation of *Octagonians*. A full and accurate description of it will be found in Enfield's "History of Leverpool," pp. 47, 48.† And parties who wish to look at a representation of it, may be referred to one of the pages of engravings in W. G. Herdman's interesting and magnificent volume.‡ Mr. Brooke says, that its vestry was decidedly the most commodious and comfortable of any in the town, and a perfect model of what such an appendage to a place of worship should be. It was large and well-furnished, with an antechamber adapted for meetings of the trustees and managers, as well as for the use of the clergymen; and by its position at the upper part of the building, was exempt from damp and offensive smells. With the edifice there was connected an extensive graveyard in which were burial-places belonging to several of the wealthy and influential inhabitants of the town.

Enfield and Herdman both concur in representing this structure as having been erected in 1763, by persons disaffected to popular theological dogmas, or, as the phrase then in vogue was, entertaining liberal and rational notions on the subject of religion. A few of these might have been members of the Church of England, but the great majority were Presbyterians belonging to Benn's Garden and Key (Kay) Street Chapels.§ Although rejecting the doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement,‖ the body of dissenters who opened the Octagon, seem to have preferred set forms of prayer to extempore devotional exercises. To meet their views and

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* Liverpool: Wareing Webb, 1851.

† In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1764, it is noticed and described, as one among the public buildings then recently erected in Liverpool. Moss in his "History," p. 148, also describes it, as it appeared after the alterations of 1792.

‡ "Pictorial Relics of Liverpool."

§ Mr. Thomas Bentley appears to have taken a leading part in the formation of the Society, and, even after he left the town, to have cherished a deep, lively, and lasting interest in its success—Bentleyana, pp. 9, 10, and 18.

‖ Openly and avowedly, but not on the face of their trust deeds. Their legal style then was Presbyterians. It was, as is well known, contrary to law for any one, or any body of individuals, to deny or impugn the doctrine of the Trinity, until the passing of Mr. W. Smith's act in 1812.

wishes, a Liturgy consisting of three distinct services was drawn up, nominally by a committee of gentlemen appointed for the purpose, but really by the Rev. Mr. Seddon, of Warrington ; * and, having been approved of, was printed and circulated for the use of the congregation. † A copy of the work, by the kindness of Mr. Brooke, I have had an opportunity of seeing and perusing. Its resemblance, in certain respects, to the Liturgy of the Established Church, is manifest; and, in the composition of its prayers, much good taste is evinced. Dr. Enfield speaks highly of it. Its title is given below. ‡

The Octagon was opened as a dissenting place of worship in 1763 ; § and after passing out of the hands of its original proprietors, it became connected with the Established Church, when it assumed the name of St. Catherine's. It existed until the month of March, 1820. Having got out of repair, and standing in the way of improvements of the town, it was then taken down by order of the Corporation, and its materials sold. Previous to its demolition such bodies as had been interred in the adjacent cemetery, were removed to other places of sepulture.

There is a difference of a whole year, between the statement made in Gore's "Annals of Liverpool," and that supplied to me by Mr. Brooke, as to the period when St. Catherine's ceased to be a Presbyterian Chapel. The "Annals" say, 1775.‖ Mr. Brooke avers, that divine service was solemnized in it for the last time, according to the peculiar forms of its own liturgy, on

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* So says Mr. Henry Taylor, now of London, in a valuable MS. volume of his, belonging to the Unitarian congregation, Renshaw street here, to which I shall have occasion frequently to refer.

† The scheme of using a liturgy was much disapproved of by several of the leading ministers of the English Presbyterian denomination, who anticipated no good from it, and besides, condemned it on the ground of principle. Among these was the celebrated Dr. John Taylor, then residing at Warrington. His pamphlet, entitled, "Scripture account of prayer," contains his views on the subject.

‡ "A form of Prayer, and a new collection of Psalms, for the use of a congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Liverpool, printed for the Society, and sold by Christopher Henderson, under the Royal Exchange, London ; and by John Sibbald, Bookseller, in Liverpool, 1763." The copy seen by me, has, on the inside of the cover, the words, "W. Wyke, (60,)" having belonged, as Mr. Brooke informs me, to a gentlemen bearing that name, who was a leading member of the Society. Mr. Wyke, it seems, was proprietor of a house and garden situated at the corner of Dale Street and Hatton Garden, as well as of several other houses, more to the West, in Dale street. Upon the site of the whole, now stand the buildings belonging to the Coal Gas Company. Some members of the Historic Society may remember Wyke court, in Dale street.

§ January 19th I believe. Mr. Henry Taylor, in his MS. volume, page 29, says 5th June.

‖ "First service at the Octagon, 1763.'

the 25th day of February, 1776. The question, it appears to me, may be easily settled, by a reference to the newspapers of the day, and to the sermon preached at the dissolution of the Society, which was afterwards published. Pending an examination of these documents, I have no hesitation in avowing my conviction, that Mr. Brooke is right. He has ascertained the date, not only by a manuscript marking on the copy of the Octagon liturgy in his possession, * but also by a domestic occurrence well known to him. Mr. Bentley's letter, in Boardman's "Bentleyana," seems to me to be decisive in Mr. Brooke's favour. †

St. Catherine's was, for several years after its abandonment by the dissenters, the property of the Rev. William Plumbe, ‡ a clergyman of the Church of England. It was purchased by the Corporation in 1792. Consulting Moss,—"History of Liverpool," p. 148, §—we find it recorded by him as having only then become connected with the establishment. || Considerable repairs seem to have been made on it by its new owners.

Respecting its different ministers, a short account may not be unacceptable.

During the whole period, from 1763 till 1776, the congregation was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Nicholas Clayton. This gentleman came from London. ¶ An amiable, intelligent, and highly educated man he appears to have been. It would be unjust to his memory, to withhold from the Society, what the celebrated Gilbert Wakefield, a writer whose powers of penetration no one will dispute, and who was by no means particularly inclined to flatter, has recorded concerning him in his "Memoirs." Speaking of him, as one of his colleagues at the Warrington Academy, vol. i, p. 226, edition 1804, he says, "Dr. Clayton, (afterwards of Nottingham), succeeded, on the death of Dr. Aiken, to the tutorship of Divinity. He was for some years minister of the Octagon, Liverpool, (where a liturgy was used), and the author of two sermons; one occasioned by the dissolution of

* "Last service at the Octagan, February, 1776. John iv 20, 21, 22, & 23."

† As also Mr. Henry Taylor's testimony, MS. vol., p. 29.

‡ "John," according to Mr. Brooke. He is more than once named "William," in the directories of the period.

§ Published 1795.

|| Troughton, "History of Liverpool," p. 381. expresses himself to the same effect.

¶ Born at Enfield, county of Middlesex. Taylor's MS. vol.—See also "Bentleyana," p. 9.

that society, and the other on prayer, * preached at a meeting of dissenting ministers—both of them excellent compositions. This gentleman was my very particular friend, and I might here indulge those encomiums of his intellect and heart, which, even envy would not attribute to the undiscerning partiality of affection." More of Dr. Clayton afterwards.

Along with Dr. Clayton, while at the Octagon, was associated as his colleague in the ministry, Mr. Hezechiah Kirkpatrick. This gentleman had been trained at Dr. Jennings' celebrated Academy, London. † He was author of a volume published in 1785, and entitled, "Sermons on Various Subjects, with an account of the principles of Protestant Dissenters, their mode of worship, and forms of public prayer, baptism, and the Lord's supper." A copy of this work will be found in the Library of the Lyceum, Liverpool. His introduction, which is very interesting, supplies the reader with a great deal of information. Having removed to Park Lane Chapel, near Wigan, he breathed his last there, September, 19, 1799, aged 61, after an incumbency of 13 years. We must beware of confounding him with William Kirkpatrick, D.D., ‡ the first minister of Oldham Street Kirk here.

The Rev. Mr. Plumbe, the church clergyman, by whom the Octagon was bought in 1776, and who officiated as its minister for several years, was propably, a personal friend of Dr. Clayton; for I find, on reference to the Liverpool Directory of 1777, that both were then living under the same roof. § Mr. Plumbe had for his curate in 1781, the Rev. Robert Wilmot. In 1790, the Rev. Brownlow Forde, afterwards, for many years the ordinary of Newgate, London, and to whom, as having had occasion in that capacity to be present at the execution of several notorious criminals, our friend, Mr. Brooke, has more than once alluded, was incumbent. About a year

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* I have not seen the sermon, but, from circumstances, I should suspect it to have been intended as a vindication of his own use of set forms of prayer, and as an answer to the tract of Dr. Taylor, already noticed.

† See Mr. Taylor's MS. volume, p. 30.

‡ This gentleman, created D.D. by diploma from the University of St. Andrew's, Scotland, bearing date 3rd May, 1811, published a work, to which reference will be found made in my paper on the Scotch Kirks and Congregations in Liverpool. It likewise is in the Lyceum Library. I have reason to think that, like the productions of many others, it may be regarded as a *monogram*. Dr. Kirkpatrick's ministry lasted from 1792 till 1815.

§ At what was then No 22 in Duke Street.

subsequent to that mentioned, Mr. Forde left Liverpool, and the church came into the hands of the Corporation. *

On the 16th November, 1792, the Rev. Robert Kennion or Kenyon Milner, and the Rev. Thomas Bold were appointed by the Common Council joint-ministers of St. Catherine's. In that relation, these two gentlemen stood to each other for the long period of between 20 and 30 years, indeed, till within a very short time of the demolition of the edifice. When the church was pulled down in 1820, Mr. Bold was the surviving colleague. It may be interesting to mention, that this venerable and respected clergyman is still alive. By looking back a sentence or two, it will be observed that nearly 60 years have elapsed since his appointment as minister of St. Catherine's. I learn from a report made by Mr. Shuttleworth, the present town clerk of Liverpool, to the Common Council, on the 27th December, 1850, a document, which was afterwards printed by order of that body, that a salary of £150 a year has been secured to Mr. Bold, payable by the Corporation during his life-time, but destined to terminate upon his decease. †

2.—*St. Matthew's, (former).*

Every vestige of this edifice, an engraving of which may been seen in W. G. Herdman's "Pictorial Relics of ancient Liverpool,"‡ has been swept away. It was substantial, although plain in its appearance; stood on the Western side of Key (Kay or Kaye)§ Street, about 50 or 60 yards from Tithebarn Street; and was taken down three or four years ago—its site, and the site of the court or yard connected with it,‖ having been required for the *terminus* of the East Lancashire and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railways. The traveller leaving the railway by the incline on the eastern side of the station, now passes unconsciously over the spot, where once the praises of God ascended from the lips of devout worshippers.

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* Herdman says, p. 91, that St. Catherine's "was bought by the Corporation, but never consecrated."

† See Report of the Town Clerk, &c., p. 7.

‡ Mr. Herdman produced a very pretty little model of old St. Matthew's, at the meeting of the Society, June 10th, 1852, the same meeting at which this paper was brought under its notice.

§ Kay or Kaye Street was, no doubt, the proper name. So also is Lumber Street, in the same neighbourhood, clearly Lombard Street. See Liverpool Directory, 1781, p. 105.

‖ There was, as I recollect, a considerable flagged space in front.

Taking for my guides Mr. Henry Taylor's MS. volume in the Library of the Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street, and information kindly and courteously furnished by my friend, the Rev. James Martineau, the following facts connected with old St. Matthew's, while it continued a dissenting place of worship, are submitted to the Society.

This building was erected in 1706-7. It belonged originally to the denomination of Presbyterians. According to Mr. Taylor, it owed its origin, "probably to the rising population of Liverpool, and the influx of settlers from Scotland, and [the north of] Ireland," MS., p. 26. Having been licensed, it was opened for public worship, November 24th, 1707. With that year, and about the period just mentioned, its register begins.

Its first minister was Mr. Christopher Basnett. All contemporary documents concur in bearing testimony to the high respectability of his character. Mr. Basnett was the author of a volume of sermons, published 1714, entitled, "Zebulon's Blessing Opened," &c.; and in 1717, there appeared from his pen, a discourse on "Church Officers, and their Missions," delivered at St. Helen's, on occasion of the ordination of Mr., afterwards Dr. Henry Winder, and Mr. Mather. Towards the close of his life, Mr. Basnett seems to have required assistance in the discharge of his ministerial functions, for with him we find Mr. John Brekell associated, for several years as colleague. The commencement of their joint-pastorship, Mr. Martineau dates in April, 1732. * Mr. Basnett's death took place in 1744. "His entries in the register," observes Mr. Martineau, "continue till April of that year."† As to his age, at the period of his decease, I can say nothing. Judging from the time when he began his studies under Mr. Richard Frankland, at Rathmel, 1st April, 1696, and supposing him to have been then twenty years of age, it would shew him to have died before attaining his 70th year.

After Mr. Basnett's demise, the pastoral duties and responsibilities devolved entirely on Mr. Brekell. ‡ Concerning the history of this gentleman,

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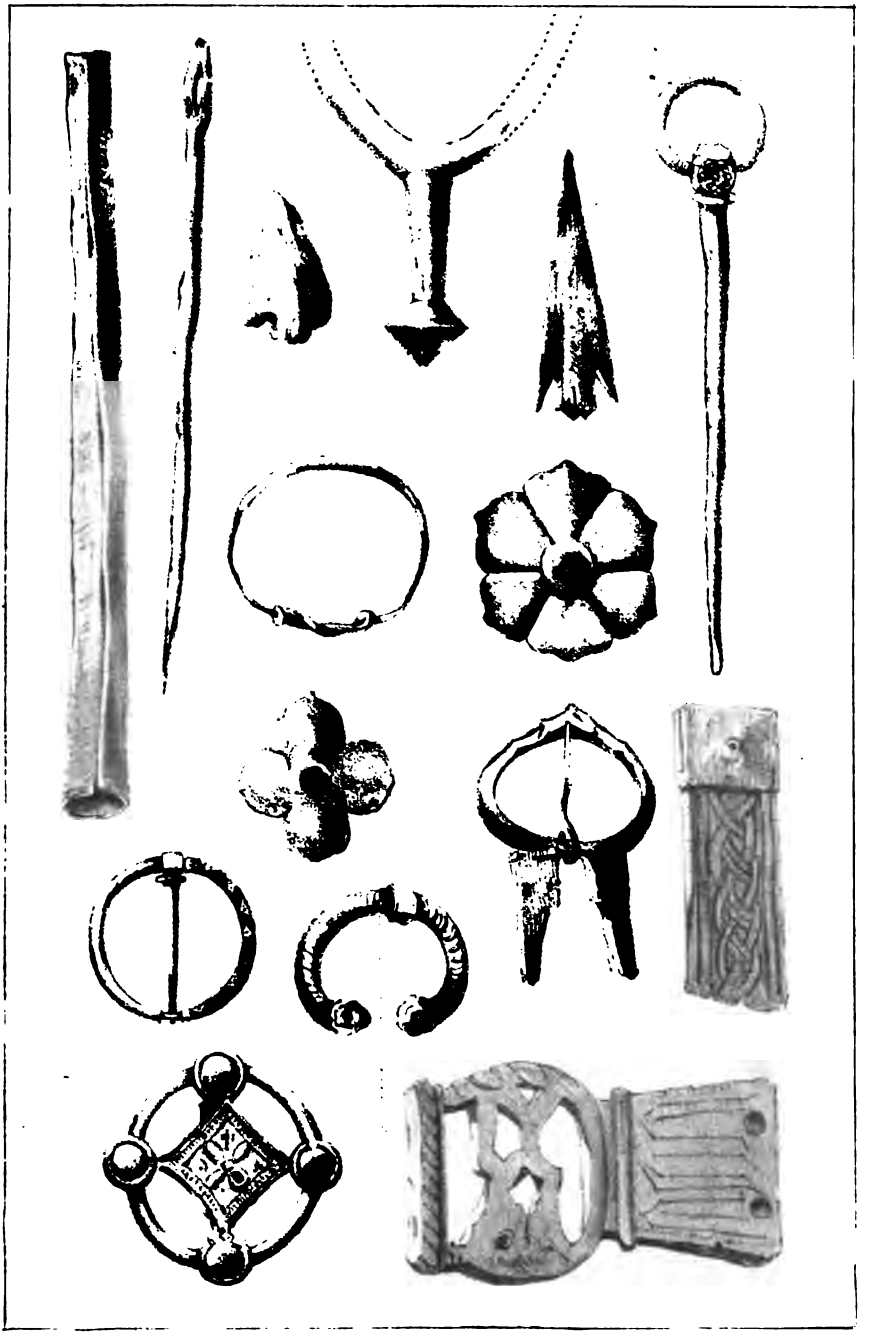
* 1728 is set down as the time in Mr. H. Taylor's MS. volume, p. 26.

† His death occurred 22nd July.

‡ Mr. Smithers in his history of Liverpool, page 416, speaks of him as "minister of St. Peter's." This is one of the many blunders which I have detected in that gentleman's otherwise valuable production. Confining myself to matters connected with the subject of this present article only, I find him stating the date of the foundation of St. Luke's church, as "9th of April, 1816," p. 32, instead of 1811; Mr. Bell, as "Vicar," instead of Rector of Liverpool; Mr. "John," instead of James Lister, &c., &c. I notice these

SPECIMENS



ANTIQUITIES FROM HOYLAKE, CHESHIRE.

a few particulars have been transmitted to us. He was born, 1697, at Moels, is supposed to have received his education at Nottingham under Mr. Hardy, and was married, 1736. Mr. Taylor gives these particulars on the authority of his relation, Mr. Philip Taylor. According to Mr. Martineau, "he has left a published volume of sermons, which bears testimony to his having been a scholar, and a man of some elegance of taste." This testimony, in itself most valuable, is corroborated by that of Dr. John Taylor, who speaks of Mr. Brekell as "having been a learned man." The MS. volume of Mr. H. Taylor, pp. 26 and 27, furnishes us with a list of Mr. Brekell's various publications, amounting to fourteen. He continued minister of Key Street chapel till his death, which occurred, 28 December, 1769. His whole incumbency, including the period of his association with Mr. Basnett, (1732—1744), extended over a period of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight years.*

Mr. Brekell, it would appear, became unfit for the discharge of the duties of his office, some time before his death. "A number of entries in the register," says Mr. Martineau, "made in 1769 and 1770, by Mr. afterwards Dr. Enfield, then minister of Benn's Garden chapel, seems to imply, that no regular successor had, during that period been appointed to" him. Mr. Philip Taylor from Norwich, grandson of Dr. John Taylor, according to the MS. volume so often already referred to, was nominated his assistant two years before his death. The fact of Mr. Taylor not having then been ordained, explains why Dr. Enfield, an ordained Presbyterian minister, was employed to officiate in cases, in which one who was merely a probationer could not act.

The death of Mr. Brekell opened up the successorship to Mr. Philip Taylor, who was ordained to the work of the ministry, over the Key Street

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minor inaccuracies with pain; for Mr. Smithers, whom I knew, and to whom I rendered some trifling assistance in the composition of his work, was not only a clever, but a kind-hearted, and honourably-minded man. However, it must be mentioned for the guidance of those who may have occasion to refer to his history, that in cases of disputed dates, and other matters of that sort, it might occasionally be advisable to have his statements corroborated by the authority of others. To what I have stated with regard to Mr. Smithers, I may add, that he was a Londoner, and in early life intimate with John Horne Tooke, and other celebrities. He was author of a work, a copy of which he did me the honour to present to me, entitled, "The Cultivation of the Arts and Sciences maintained to be favourable to virtue and happiness,"—Brussels, 1818; as also of another publication, "Observations on the Netherlands."

* Above 40 years, of course, if 1728 was, as Mr. Taylor alleges, the date of the commencement of the joint-ministry.

congregation, in July 1770. He removed to Eustace Street Chapel, Dublin, in 1777, where he continued to act as pastor, till his death in 1831, at a very advanced age. Towards the close of his life, Mr. Martineau, his relation, assisted him in the performance of his ministerial duties.

Mr. John Yates was called to supply the vacancy occasioned by Mr. P. Taylor's resignation. The ordination of Mr. Yates, along with that of Mr. Hugh Anderson, appointed minister of the Park Chapel, took place in Key Street Chapel, 1st October, 1777. On that occasion, Dr. Enfield preached and presided; the sermon which he delivered having been afterwards published. No one belonging to Liverpool requires to be told of the high respectability of Mr. Yates' character.* His talents and attainments are evinced in various pulpit discourses, which, at different periods, he sent forth from the press. His ministry was a long one. Suffice it to say here, that, during its continuance, the connection of the Society over which he presided, with the meeting-house in Key Street, terminated. Having erected a new place of worship in Paradise Street, at the corner of School Lane—for a minute description of which, I may be permitted to refer to Moss's "History," 1795, pp., 152, 154,—Key Street was abandoned, and the new chapel taken possession of and opened, on the 11th day of September, 1791.†

Key Street Chapel, having been sold, and taken under the wing of the Establishment, was consecrated ‡ and opened in 1795, when it received the appellation of St. Matthew's Church. § We cease, henceforward, to be able to avail ourselves of the information derivable from Messrs. Taylor and Martineau.

Few religious edifices in Liverpool can boast of having had a greater number or variety of officiating clergymen than St. Matthew's. To state their names and the period of their incumbency is all that, in most cases, we are competent to. In 1795, the Rev. James White was chaplain; who, having left before 1800, was succeeded by the Rev. William, afterwards Dr. Pulford, a gentleman well known, and distinguished as a teacher of

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* Or of the distinguished individuals to whom he stood in the relation of father.

† Of Mr. Pendlebury Houghton, Mr. Yates' colleague during a portion of his ministry, I shall speak afterwards.

‡ Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 262.

§ The requisite repairs had not, I perceive, been completed when Moss published his "History" in 1795. See page 155.

youth. Dr. Pulford was for eight or nine years connected with St. Matthew's, and at a subsequent period of his life officiated in other Liverpool churches. The Rev. William Marsden appears to have been minister from about 1809 till 1813, or 1814. The Rev. John Fearon, A.M., having taken charge of the congregation till about 1822, gave place to the Rev. Thomas Tattershall, first A.M., and then D.D., who remained at St. Matthew's till his removal to St. Augustine's, in 1831. Need I remind any of his contemporaries of the esteem, and even admiration, in which this talented, laborious, and excellent minister was universally held? or of the deep impression of regret produced by his death? Dr. Tattershall, after his settlement at St. Augustine's, gave to the public a long and able pamphlet, on the doctrine of Election, composed on Sublapsarian principles; and was, besides, author of one of the "sermons" preached and published, thirteen or fourteen years ago, in the course of our then local Unitarian controversy.*—To return to St. Matthew's. The Rev. J. B. Clarke, son of the celebrated Adam Clarke, was its minister for a short time, about 1831. The Rev. J. H. Stafford officiated there, 1832—1834. The Rev. Thomas Dwyer, our late respected colleague, who, when he died two or three years ago, was chaplain of the West Derby Union Workhouse, appears in the list as clergyman of St. Matthew's, in 1835. We find the congregation presided over by the Rev. J. W. Gowring, B.A.,† author of more than one tract on the subject of religion, and at one time a frequent contributor to the "Gospel Magazine," between 1835 and 1837. To him, 1837, 1838, succeeded the Rev. John Buck, D.C.L.,‡ who was afterwards, for two or three

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* His life and remains were published by his friend, the late Dr. Byrth.

† I have now lying before me one of Mr. Gowring's very able productions, entitled, "The Doctrine of Free and Sovereign Grace; being the substance of two sermons on the seventeenth article, preached in Witton Church, Northwich, July 13th and 20th, 1834. By J. W. Gowring, B.A., Curate of Witton." This gentleman is now blind; but having acquired the habit of reading, by means of relieved, or raised letters, he still officiates as a clergyman, somewhere, I believe, in the neighbourhood of London.

‡ Author of various able Sermons and Tracts. He published a very clever pamphlet on the subject of religion, during his residence in the Isle of Man, about eight or ten years ago; and, since taking up his abode at Houghton, has printed and circulated a discourse on the seventeenth article of the Church of England. Some things occurred, which imparted to Dr. Buck's ministry, during his residence in Liverpool, no small degree of notoriety. A sermon delivered by the Rev. William Nunn, of St. Clement's, Manchester, at St. Matthew's, on Sunday, September 17th, 1837, the substance of which was afterwards published under the title of "*The Supreme Dominion of Jehovah*," drew down upon it, as well as its author, the severe animadversions of Dr. Buck, and was the subject of much conversation among religious persons at the time. Circumstances, too, connected with the Doctor's preaching, and the manner in which he discharged his other duties as chaplain of the Borough Gaol, led to much private and newspaper con-

years, Chaplain to the Borough Gaol, Liverpool, and is now incumbent of Houghton, Stanwix, near Carlisle. The Rev John Leighton Figgins. B.A., now officiating in St. Clement's, Manchester, and author of at least one published sermon, took charge of St. Matthew's from 1838 or 1839, till the close of 1843; the Rev. Robert Townley, B.A.,* now minister of the Universalist Church, Charlestown, Boston, U.S., during 1844; the Rev. William Duncan Long, B.A., in 1845 and part of 1846; the Rev. George Cuthbert, M.A., 1847, 1848; and the Rev. Thomas W. Moeran, B.A., 1849.

I may here mention the fact of my having heard from the pulpit of St. Matthew's Church, in the autumns of 1823 and 1824 respectively, two most logically composed and impressive discourses addressed to the Jews, by the reverend and celebrated Charles Simeon, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

The Rev. Henry B. W. Hillcoat, D.D., who for many years was incumbent of a chapel in Bath, had long been proprietor of St. Matthew's, as well as the party by whom its officiating ministers had been appointed. By him the church was disposed of to a Railway Company: its site, as already stated, having been required for the Liverpool *terminus*. Having received in exchange,

3.—*St. Matthew's, (present),*

he removed to, and took possession of it about three years ago, with his congregation.

The particulars connected with the origin, building, and early history of this religious structure, which stands in Scotland Road, are so remarkable, that I shall not merely be excused, but probably thanked by the members of the Society for bringing them under their notice. They may be relied on as authentic. Joseph Robinson, Esq., of Falkner Square, in this town, who had no small share in the transactions which I am about to mention, and was one of the original Trustees, is, by the high respectability of his character, a sufficient guarantee for the truth of the facts with which, from documents in his possession, he has been polite enough to furnish me.

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troversy in 1840, and 1841. A retiring pension of £60 a year was allowed him by the Corporation, in the spring of the year last-named. It will, no doubt, be in the recollection of several members of the Society, that Dr. Buck did duty, in a very zealous, and efficient manner, as Curate at Trinity Church here, during the autumn, winter, and spring of 1848 and 1849.

* Mr. Townley published in 1845, a work, entitled, "The Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ a Past Event," in which are contained many startling positions.

Owing to the great and rapid increase of the Scottish population in the Northern districts of Liverpool, as far back as the month of September, 1838, it was resolved at a meeting of the sessions of Oldham Street, and Rodney Street Kirks, agreeing to co-operate for this purpose, to take steps for having a place of worship, in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland, provided for that particular locality. In pursuance of this resolution, an appeal was made to the liberality and christian feelings of the Scotch residents here. This appeal was heartily responded to. Subscription-books were opened, and subscriptions received. Money came in so plentifully, that by the year 1841, those who had set the matter a-going, could boast of having collected the sum of £1775, a large proportion of which had been derived from small contributors. This was deemed sufficient to authorise the summoning and holding of a meeting of subscribers and others friendly to the cause, in the month of June, 1841. Resolutions to proceed immediately were unanimously adopted. A general committee of twenty gentlemen contributing £50 each, and a sub-committee of five were appointed. The latter was empowered to look out for an appropriate site for the contemplated church, and the school-house which was to be connected with it: when found, to make the requisite purchase—to execute mortgage deeds—to enter into building contracts—and to take all the other steps which might be deemed necessary or advisable for carrying the intentions of the meeting into effect. Acting under the powers thus entrusted to them, land in Scotland Road was acquired by the sub-committee from the late Earl of Derby, and it was contracted with Mr. William Beattie to build the church, under the superintendence of Mr. John Cunningham, F.G.S., architect. This last arrangement was concluded in February, 1842.

Long before the meeting of the two Kirk-sessions in September, 1838, already noticed, the Northern part of Liverpool had, by seriously-minded Scotchmen, been regarded as a most eligible field for missionary labours. Under this impression, different preachers, and ultimately Mr. John Ferries, had been employed to cultivate it. The Carpenters' Hall, Bond Street, was in process of time hired as a temporary place of worship, and there Mr. Ferries preached for some years to an attentive and increasing congregation.

The foundation stone of the church of which we are now speaking, which was at first denominated St. Peter's, was laid on the 22nd day of March,

1842, by George Armstrong, Esq., and the work was immediately and energetically proceeded with. On the 2nd of July, that year, Mr. Ferries, who had "borne the burden and heat of the day" in forming the congregation which, in due time, was to be transferred to and occupy the new building, was appointed minister, with a salary of not less than £150 a year; and on the 14th September following, he was, according to the Presbyterian ritual, by prayer and imposition of hands, solemnly ordained or set apart to the work of the ministry by the Presbytery of Lancashire, then in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland. The ceremony took place in Rodney Street Kirk here. Mr. Ferries, for some time longer, continued his labours in the Carpenters' Hall, it not having been until the 21st day of May, 1843, that St. Peter's was formally opened for divine worship,—the Rev. John Park, then of Rodney Street Kirk, officiating in the morning, Mr. Ferries himself in the afternoon, and the Rev. Alexander Munro, of Manchester, in the evening.

In the meanwhile, matters of the utmost importance had been going on in Scotland. Collisions, of a very unseemly and unedifying kind, between the Established Church and the Civil Courts, on the non-intrusion question, had taken place. Such a state of things, it was evident, could not long continue. A disruption had for some time been threatened, and was obviously impending. At last it occurred. The decision of the House of Lords in the famous Auchterarder case precipitated it. Within a very few days after the opening of St. Peter's, a large body of the Scottish clergy had laid their protest on the table of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, and seceded from her communion. Of this step, the organisation of that large and powerful body of dissenters, the Free Kirk of Scotland, has been the result.

Immediately the trustees and congregation of St Peter's were made to experience the consequences of this altered state of things. A great number of Scotch livings having been abandoned by their incumbents, persons from all quarters were sought after, for the purpose of supplying the vacancies thereby occasioned. The successorship to one of the vacated parishes—that of Torryburn, in Fife—having been offered to, was at once accepted of by Mr. Ferries.* His Liverpool charge he speedily demitted,

* To the great surprise and chagrin of his friends, he, whether justly or not I cannot say, having been regarded by them as, up to that period, a firm and uncompromising supporter of Non-Intrusion principles.

and to him, no regular successor was, or could be appointed. For, besides the opposition which they had to encounter from certain members of the General Committee, the Trustees found themselves involved in other, and what at first appeared to be inextricable difficulties.

When Lord Derby agreed to sell the land in Scotland Road, it was on the express understanding, that a Church and School-house, in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland, were to be built on it. Nothing but missives passed on the occasion. After the completion of the edifice, regular title deeds became necessary. But to whom? And for what purpose? To persons adhering to the Scottish Established Church, his Lordship was perfectly ready to make over the property, and thereby to fulfil his engagement. Equitably, no less than legally considered, he was satisfied that he could not grant a conveyance to any others. And in this view, his lordship was backed and supported by several Scotch gentlemen, some of them members of the General Committee, and some of them subscribers to the building, who clung to the church established by law in the northern portion of the Island. This puzzled the Trustees. Not only were they themselves inclined to favour the Free-Kirk, but from the sentiments and temper of the Scotch population residing in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, they saw clearly that to open it in connexion with the Church of Scotland would have been absurd, and in a pecuniary point of view ruinous. They would not perhaps, in that case, have had twenty hearers paying for seats and sittings. Meanwhile they, four in number, were obliged, in terms of contract, to make advances on the building, to the amount of nearly £4,000; its whole cost having been about £7,000, and some of the gentlemen who had undertaken to pay fifty pounds each as their contribution, having refused, under existing circumstances, to defray a single farthing of the expenses incurred. For some years, the situation of the trustees was truly embarrassing. They had advanced a considerable sum of money on the security of the edifice; and unless title deeds, with power of sale, and a clause enabling them to indemnify themselves could be procured, they were but too likely to be out of pocket to the whole amount. In this state, matters continued from the summer of 1843, till the month of February, 1847.

After Mr. Ferries' departure, 1843, the trustees, owing to the peculiar and critical situation in which they stood, would not sanction the calling

and ordination of any new minister; but allowed the Free-Kirk congregation merely on sufferance, and with the understanding that the door might be closed against them at any time, to worship within its walls. For some time, the vacant pulpit was supplied by probationers and ministers appointed to preach by the Lancashire Presbytery. At last, in May, 1845, Mr. John Wiseman received a call to become permanent minister. This necessitated the immediate removal of the congregation from St. Peter's, as the trustees were threatened with a prosecution, on the part of the adherents to the Scotch Establishment, in the event of their permitting the settlement of a pastor to take place. The church was shut up. Mr. Wiseman went back, with the congregation, to the Carpenters' Hall, Bond Street. Shortly afterwards dissension made its appearance among his followers. Supported by one party, he remained with them as their pastor, and struggled with difficulties until a year or two ago, when he abandoned his charge, and went to America. By the opposing party, steps were taken for the erection of another meeting-house on Free-Kirk principles, in the immediate neighbourhood. Land was procured by means of a mortgage, in Great Oxford Street North, nearly opposite to the eastern end of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. To the structure reared on it, when completed, was given the name of St. Peter's; and over its congregation, Mr. Walter Smith was invited to preside as minister.

The Earl of Derby having, in February, 1847, made over the church in Scotland Road, and the ground on which it and the school-house had been erected to the four trustees, to be held in connexion with the Church of Scotland, but with power of sale in the event of certain conditions not being fulfilled on the part of the subscribers, steps were promptly taken to carry into effect the provisions contained in the deed of conveyance. Offers of the church were made to the minority of the general committee and to the subscribers, they indemnifying the trustees and others for all outlay of money on their part. These offers were not accepted. Under the circumstances, and after going through the other forms requisite, St. Peter's was brought to the hammer, on the 15th July, 1847. At the sale, it was knocked down at the price of £5,510 to the Liverpool and Bury Railway Company. And by them, as has previously been mentioned, it was conveyed to the Rev. Dr. Hillcoat, in exchange for the old church of St. Matthew's.

It is not to be supposed, however, that Dr. Hillcoat and his congregation

were put in immediate possession of the building. Considerable litigation followed the original arrangements, with the merits of which I am not particularly acquainted, only that, if I mistake not, it turned on some legal nicety connected with the transference to the church given in exchange, of a sum of money payable out of the Queen Anne's Bounty Fund, which had been previously secured on the abandoned edifice.* At last, matters were adjusted;—the transfer took place;—necessary alterations were made;—and on taking possession of the church in 1849, its former name of St. Peter's was superseded by that of St. Matthew's, by which it is now known.

Thus after the lapse of more than ten years from the time when the subject was first formally mooted, and after much toil, immense anxiety, and the surmounting of numerous difficulties, what had been originally started as a Scotch Kirk, ended in becoming one of the churches belonging to the English Establishment, in this town.

Tantæ molis erat condere—ecclesiam.

4.—*St. Mary's, or the Church for the Blind.*

All our Guide-books and Directories, from 1819 till 1850, make mention of this church as standing in Duncan Street East, now Hotham Street, at the corner of Great Nelson, now Lord Nelson Street. In vain, however, will the stranger now look for it there. Nothing remains to indicate that any edifice, much less an ecclesiastical one, once occupied the spot.

The fact is, that the ground on which the church originally stood, having been required by the London and North Western Railway Company, for the enlargement of their *terminus*, the church itself, which had been constructed in 1818-19,† was, after protracted negociations, removed, and a place for its erection having been selected in Hardman Street, at the corner of Hope Street, (the other buildings constituting the Asylum of the Blind being set down close to it in Hardman Street), it there made its appearance again, rising, phœnix-like, exactly as it had stood for thirty years in Hotham Street.‡ Not a stone is altered in its position. And, except that the church fronts the north, instead of the west, and that the entrance to it is obtained now from the sides only, not the slightest difference can be de-

* Was there not some difference of opinion between Dr. Hillcoat and the Railway Company, as to the value of the ground in front of the old chapel?

† Foundation stone laid, 6th October, 1818; opened 6th October, 1819.

‡ It is said that the erection of this church was the first act of our present worthy chief Magistrate (Samuel Holme, Esq.) as a builder, and the removal of it his last.

tected between what it was, and what it is. Its removal took place in 1850. The church of the Asylum of the Blind now forms one of a cluster of public buildings, which by the variety, grandeur, and beauty of their respective designs, are eminently calculated to strike the eye of the beholder.

To describe at any length an edifice like the Church of the Blind, which every stranger of taste will make a point to visit, and concerning which any Guide-book may be consulted, is out of the question. Suffice it to say that the design was furnished by Mr. Foster, the well-known architect; and that its elegant portico, facing the north, is said to be a copy of that attached to the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina.

In the interior, is a small organ gallery, and the musical portion of the services is conducted by the blind pupils themselves. When the church occupied its former site in Hotham Street, the inmates of the Asylum entered it by means of an underground passage cut in the solid rock.*

I may be permitted to observe, with regard to the Asylum of the Blind in Liverpool, that it was first set on foot in the year 1790.† About the beginning of this century, the Rev. William Blundell, B.A., one of the parish curates, (1800), and afterwards incumbent of St. Anne's,‡ (1803), became its chaplain,|| and continued to give the charity the benefit of his services in that capacity, until the erection of the church in 1819, when he resigned his office.

From the period of the building of St. Mary's until now, 1819—1852, the Rev. Edward Hull, M.A., has been minister of the church, and has

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* For further particulars, see Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," p.p., 202 and 204.

† Claims to its origination have been set up in behalf of Mr. Edward Rushton, the poet, father of our late stipendiary magistrate.

‡ It may be interesting to the Society to be informed, that the only member of the episcopal bench taken from among the Liverpool clergy, was once minister of this church. In the course of 1784, the Rev. Claudius (called in the old Liverpool Directories, Cornelius), Crigan, D.D. was by the then Duke of Atholl, promoted to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man. The Doctor was the first incumbent of St. Ann's, having been presented to the benefice as soon as the building was completed, on the 25th October, 1772.—Moss, p. 146. Concerning this prelate, Gilbert Wakefield speaks respectfully in his "Memoirs," p. 178. Smithers has related the gossip of the time, as regards the cause of Dr. Crigan's appointment to the vacant see of Man. I suspect that he has committed at least one mistake in this story. The party to whom he alludes as having been the bishop's intended successor, was, if I remember right, not a son, but a brother of the then feudal sovereign of the neighbouring isle. Besides, did not Dr. Crigan's episcopate extend to more than twenty-five years? See Smithers' "History of Liverpool," p. 435.

|| He was also secretary.

discharged the other clerical duties incumbent on the chaplain of one of our most valuable institutions. Under his auspices, the charity has flourished. Mr. Hull is well known as preaching to one of the most genteel and intelligent congregations in Liverpool, and as the author of more than one able and spirited pamphlet;* while his occasional contributions to our local papers are always characterised by superior excellence, and have often turned out to be very useful. Indeed, the character, varied attainments, talents, and zeal in behalf of the charity with which he is connected, of Mr. Hull, rank too high, and are too well appreciated to stand in need of any eulogium of mine.

5.—*St. Simon's.*

On the spot now occupied by this building, stood formerly a meeting-house, or chapel, erected about 1808, by a body of individuals, chiefly indeed exclusively from the north, in connexion with the Associate, or Burgher Synod of Scotland. This class of dissenters was then known among their countrymen by the name of Seceders.† A fusion of the Burgher and Anti-burgher divisions of this body ‡ took place in 1819, when they assumed the appellation of the United Secession Church. And, about 1847 or 1848, the Scotch Synod of Relief§ having joined them, their present style is, the United Presbyterian Church ||

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* Sometimes, I have been conscious of a feeling of regret, that a man of Mr. Hull's learning and classic purity of taste, has not favoured the world with some larger and longer production, than any that has yet issued from his pen. But, perhaps, he proceeds on the axiom, μεγα βιβλιον, μεγα κακον.

† The Scotch Secession body owed its origin to the withdrawal of Messrs. E. Erskine, Fisher, Moncrieff, and Wilson, from the Established Church of Scotland in 1732.

‡ Early in the history of the Secession Church, a dispute having arisen as to the duty of its members to take the Burgess Oath, which was then imposed on all persons commencing business within the precincts of Scottish corporations, a "split" took place in 1747: those who agreed to take the oath being denominated Burghers, and those refusing to do so, Anti-burghers. Mr. Ebenezer Erskine headed the one party, and Mr. Moncrieff the other. Great bitterness of spirit evinced in various ways, prevailed on the part of both sections of seceders towards each other. The breach was repaired in 1819, after the lapse of 72 years, by the various municipalities agreeing to dispense with the imposition of the oath.

§ Deriving its origin from Mr. Gillespie, minister of Carnock, in Fife. This gentleman was deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1752, for refusing to concur in the settlement of Mr. Richardson as minister of Inverkeithing, the people of that parish having almost unanimously "reclaimed" against him. Several ministers who objected to the exercise of patronage, and wished to have congregations relieved from that oppression as they deemed it, by being invested with the power of choosing their own pastors, joined Mr. Gillespie, and laid the foundation of the Relief Synod.

|| These united Seceding and Relief people form a very powerful and intelligent body, consisting of at least 500 ministers and congregations. Some Seceders, however, keep aloof from the Association. A party of these have very recently joined the Free-Kirk of Scotland. See Acts of F. K. General Assembly, Tuesday, June 1, 1852.

The first minister of the Scotch Secession Chapel was Mr. John Stewart, afterwards D.D., a native of Dornoch, near Annan, in Scotland,* who had for some years taken the pastoral charge of a congregation in the neighbourhood of Perth. This gentleman's character was excellent, and he possessed talents of a superior order, which were evinced in several publications of his, especially in his Treatise on Baptism, written in opposition to the views maintained by Mr. Henry Paice, and in his sermon on the Eldership. †

The present St. Simon's Church is not the original meeting-house. That edifice which, like the present, was in Gloucester Street, (then running down to the New Haymarket), having stood at the corner of Silver Street, and occupied a somewhat elevated position, was at first familiarly known by the appellation of Silver Hill Chapel. It was tolerably large and commodious, containing a gallery, as well as pews below, but was very plain in its external appearance. From it, the congregation and their pastor removed in June, 1827, to their present large and elegant place of worship at the corner of Mount Pleasant and Great Orford Street.

Dr. Stewart, who had continued to labour among his people with great assiduity and marked acceptance, from about the year 1809, was compelled at last, by the growing infirmities of age, to solicit and receive the assistance of a colleague To act in this capacity, Mr. Hugh Crichton was appointed. Their joint-pastorship began in 1838. Notwithstanding the aid thus seasonably afforded, Dr. Stewart's life was not long protracted He died 7th October, 1840. Since that time, owing to the delicate state of Mr., now Dr. Crichton's health, Mr. William Graham has been chosen to co-operate with him in the work of the ministry.

When deserted by the Scotch Seceders, Gloucester Street Chapel passed into the hands of the Independents. Mr. James Widdows having quitted the chapel in Russell Street, in which, for several years, he had officiated, about 1828 became its minister. There he remained about ten years. His successor was Mr. P. Strutt.

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* Brother of Andrew Stewart, M.D., minister of Erskine, and of Mr. David Stewart, one of the ministers of the Secession Church, Stirling.

† We must be careful to distinguish between Dr. John Stewart, minister of Gloucester Street and Mount Pleasant Chapels, here, and Mr. John Stewart, who was for nine or ten months in 1823 minister of Oldham Street Kirk in this town, was inducted into the charge of the parish of Sorn, Ayrshire, in 1824, and became incumbent of the parish of Libberton, near Edinburgh, (where he now is,) in 1843. Nobody, surely, will commit the mistake of confounding either gentleman with the present worthy rector of West Derby.

Having been acquired by the Church of England, the chapel was opened and consecrated in 1841. Some changes and repairs were then made upon it. These enabled it to be used for several years as a place of worship in connexion with the Establishment. But in process of time, the old structure was taken down, and now, in its stead, there meets the eye, a large and handsome edifice in the Gothic style fronting the west,* with a tall and elegant spire, and standing almost close to the brink of the *terminus* of the London and North Western Railway. In its present form, the church was opened and consecrated in 1848.

Since becoming connected with the Established Church, St. Simon's has had for its active and energetic incumbent, the Rev. John R. Conor, M.A., who had previously for some time taken charge of a congregation, meeting for religious worship, in the small chapel, Sir Thomas's Buildings; that chapel having, during his ministrations there, borne temporarily the name of St. Simon's.

6.—*St. Mary's, Harrington Street.*

Concerning this building, which appears never to have been a place of much consequence, a few remarks may suffice.

Moss, in his "History of Liverpool," 1795, thus describes it, "This chapel is situate in Harrington Street, and has nothing outwardly to recommend it to notice. It is a plain, decent chapel; has a flight of stairs to the galleries from the principal entrance; these galleries are supported by seven slender iron columns; the whole is well lighted by large windows with circular heads. Three small compositions in plaister ornament the ceiling. There is a good organ over the west gallery, and on the face thereof underneath is a small king's arms. There is no chancel: a flat neat altar is all that is seen, with a few external ornaments; and [there is] a picture of the Ascension in oil placed in a circle, which appears to have been the performance of a capital master." p. 151.

We are indebted to Mr. Herdman, for having, in his splendid "Pictorial Relics," 1844, supplied us with the following additional particulars in regard to St. Mary's:—"There was a church formerly in Harrington,

* It occupies more ground than its predecessor—reaching from Silver Street to White Mill Street.

(originally Castle Hey), built * by a Rev. Mr. Bragg, a clergyman of Liverpool. It was a brick building, on the right hand side, just below Marshall Street, † now converted into warehouses. ('On the site of this church, Downward and Mann's sugar-house was built.' ‡—*Author).* It was called St. Mary's. The people who left St. Mary's obtained the old meeting-house in Key Street from the Unitarians, which was consecrated by the name of St. Matthew's Church.--MSS. of Dr. Raffles." Again, "we have been informed on living authority, that St. Mary's Church, Harrington Street, was strictly Church of England; and that the congregation did not remove to any other place of worship but became dispersed. The church was licensed, but not consecrated." These quotations constitute two notes at the bottom of page 48 of Mr. Herdman's work.

On perusing what precedes, one can not help cherishing a wish for somewhat more information as to the views and movements of those who frequented this extinct place of worship.

All that I would remark further, in reference to St. Mary's, Harrington, is, that it was opened for divine worship, on the 10th day of March, 1776, §

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* Lacey says, "Pictorial Liverpool," p. 79, that it "was a Dissenting Chapel" in Harrington Street, that was opened as a Church, by Mr. Bragg, in 1776. Consequently the building must have been erected previous to that time. Could this have been the original "Castle Hey Chapel" of the Presbyterians, or, at all events, could Mr. Bragg's Church have been raised on its site? Observe, "there was no chancel."

† How could this be? Marshall Street, as I remember it, 1823–1825, reached only from Cable Street to Lord Street. To render the quotation consistent with fact, John Street, or a portion of it must have been called Marshall Street. A little explanation may set it all to rights. In the oldest maps of Liverpool, it will be observed that John Street extended only from Dale Street to Harrington Street; and that Love Lane terminated at Cable Street. There was then no prolongation of John Street into Lord Street on the one hand, or of Love Lane into Lord Street on the other. John Street and Love Lane were, however, in due time connected; a Street having been run directly from the one to the other, through Lord Street. To the whole of this it is shewn by one map, now in the Athenæum Library, that the name of Marshall Street was given. During the period when it was so named, St. Mary's was fitly described as being in Harrington Street, "just below Marshall Street." Afterwards, "New John Street" was the name applied to that portion of Marshall street which extended from Harrington Street to Lord Street; Marshall Street, from that time until the widening of the whole line of street, having been confined to the part lying between Lord Street and Cable Street. Now we find "North John Street" the common name of all that section which runs from Dale to Lord Street; and "South John Street," of what formerly bore the names of Marshall Street, Love Lane, and Trafford Lane. In the maps of Liverpool, for 1803 and 1807, St. Mary's Church will be seen placed in Harrington Street, between "New John's Street," (North John Street), and "Doran Lane."

‡ Burnt down, if I mistake not, about 1819.

§ See Lacey, p. 79. Also, the "Annals" in Gore's Directory. Was not 1777 rather the year in which the opening of St. Mary's took place?

and was taken down in March, 1809; that during its existence, it is always found enumerated among the churches and chapels belonging to the Establishment in the Liverpool directories; and that the only clergymen whom I can discover to have regularly officiated in it, were the Rev. Joseph Bragg,* and the Rev. John Vickers, or Viccars; the former from its opening, until about 1804, and the latter for some time subsequently. In 1807, it seems to have had no stated chaplain.

7.—*St. Matthias, (former and present).*

Few, if any, public edifices in Liverpool have had so ephemeral an existence, and of few is the existence, such as it was, so little known as that of the former church of St. Matthias.†

Probably, one of the chief means of bringing it under the notice of future generations, will be Gage's map of Liverpool, 1835. A glance at that very valuable document will serve to shew, that it had on two sides of it one of the public ways denominated Love Lane,‡ having been likewise bounded by Emma-Anne and Thornton Streets. The Leeds and Liverpool Canal was in close proximity to it. As I believe the lane and streets to which I have just alluded are all now swept away, the enquirer, unable to discover its whereabouts otherwise, may be directed to look for it on Gage's map, a little to the northward of the Borough Gaol, and to the eastward of Great Howard Street.

This church, which was exceedingly neat, but low and unimposing in its appearance, contained 1,050 sittings, of which 500 were free. It was opened in July, 1834.

The Rev. John B. Winstanley, M.A.,‖ an exceedingly amiable young

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* A respected friend informs me, that in his younger days, St. Mary's was familiarly and commonly spoken of as "Bragg's Church;" and that Mr. Bragg's religious sentiments were considered peculiar.

† It was intended originally to have borne another name—at least, so says the Liverpool Mercury, when giving an account of the laying of the foundation stone.

‡ Love Lane, at St. Matthias' Church, south east corner, was bent nearly into the form of a right angle.

‖ Son of the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, M.A., (called Calvert Winstanley, in the Liverpool directories of 1796 and 1800), who officiated as curate of Trinity Church here, from 1794 or 1795 till 1812. Mr. Winstanley, sen., who died between twenty and thirty years ago, was well known and extremely successful as a teacher of youth. His schoolroom in 1823, and following years, was in Duke Street, nearly opposite Rathbone Street. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, and possessed considerable learning, as is evident from his "Elementa Grammatica Ciceroniana," 1802, and "A Vindication of certain passages in the English Version of the New Testament," 1805. Some remarks

man, and possessed of respectable, if not even superior abilities, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, was its first minister. Having been appointed chaplain to the St. James' Cemetery—where he died suddenly about 1836,—he was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Spencer, A.B. This gentleman also was, for some time after Mr. Winstanley's death, officiating minister at the St. James' Cemetery. The Rev. Richard Walker, incumbent of Great Crosby, was, in 1844, nominated also to the incumbency of St. Matthias.

After a very brief occupancy of the then recently erected place of worship on the part of Mr. Walker, operations connected with the formation of the *terminus*, and the construction of warehouses of the Liverpool and Bury, and other Railways, having rendered its demolition necessary, it, along with many private houses, was pulled down.* Streets even were at the same time obliterated. A great change has been the result. Indeed, the whole aspect of that locality has been made to undergo so complete an alteration, that I would defy any person conversant with it twenty years ago, and now re-visiting it for the first time after having been absent from Liverpool during that interval, by any possibility to recognize it.

According to agreement, a new church also called St. Matthias was erected by the railway company, instead of the one which it was intended to demolish. In March, 1848, the foundation-stone was laid, and it was consecrated in April, 1849. Its exterior, which is Gothic, and somewhat elevated, differs totally from that of its predecessor; but as the amount of the sittings is 1,070, it will be observed, by looking back a few sentences, that the internal capacity of the former and present structures is not very dissimilar. The present St. Matthias is situated in Great Howard Street, between Vulcan and Porter Streets.

Mr. Walker resides at Crosby, and the Rev. George Aspinall, Ph.D., officiates as curate.

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on the use of the subjunctive mood in Latin, which occur in a small Latin Grammar of his, and which I saw several years ago, struck me as valuable and useful. Mr. Winstanley became the object of much public sympathy, in consequence of one of his daughters having been killed by the falling of a chimney, on the night of the great storm of December 3rd and 4th, 1823.

* Rather, the former St. Matthias was burnt down. No doubt it had been doomed to destruction, and the foundation-stone of its successor had been laid; but, subsequently to the last named event, it took fire accidentally, April 10th, 1848, and was completely demolished: thus anticipating, as it were, its own sentence of condemnation. For directing my attention to this fact and two others, I gratefully acknowledge myself indebted to my friend, Dr. Hume.

8.—*St. George's.*

St. George's Church, as may be seen by a reference to any of our guide-books, occupies the site of the old castle of Liverpool. Although generally stated, it is not we suspect generally understood, that the church of the present day is not that which once caught the eye, and excited the admiration, as well of the inhabitant of the town as of the passing stranger.*

Such a minute description of the former St. George's Church is given in Moss's "History," pp. 136—139, as to supersede entirely the necessity of my entering into details. Parties who cannot procure Moss, may consult Enfield, Troughton, † Smithers, or Baines. Lacey, pp. 257 and 258, combines a satisfactory account of the church as it formerly was, with a brief narrative of the changes which it has undergone. Still a few remarks may be permitted.

The former St. George's Church was completed and consecrated in 1734. Views of it may be seen in Enfield's and Herdman's works. Its spire having been considered dangerous, on account of the unevenness of the foundation on which it rested, ‡ was taken down in the summer of 1809. § And I remember that the church itself was rebuilt piece-meal, after my coming to Liverpool in 1823. I say *piece-meal*. For, instead of throwing it down entirely, and then commencing the work of reconstruction, first one wall was taken down, and then another—the renovation of the exterior thus going on gradually, and the interior, in the meanwhile, being allowed to remain. The end wall towards Lord Street, is placed several feet more to the east than formerly was the case. In its present form, the church was re-opened for divine service, Sunday, September 11th, 1825.‖

Besides having an exterior that is attractive and imposing, and being got up in a style of great elegance internally, St. George's has other claims on

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* "The Church, on its completion, was spoken of as one of the handsomest in the Kingdom." Lacey.

† Whose account is minute, and critically excellent.

‡ It had been built on the site of the old moat.

§ "The first stone of the new tower was laid on the 9th March, 1819, by J. Blundell Hollingshead, Esq., Mayor, W. Molyneux, and N. Robinson, Esquires, Bailiffs." Lacey, p. 257. See also "Annals."

‖ Lacey acquaints us, p. 258, that, "the steeple, previous to 1833, was considerably higher than at present, and terminated in a vane representing St. George and the Dragon. In a storm which occurred that year, November 29, it was materially shaken, and was for some time observed to vibrate in the gale. It was found necessary to take down part of the steeple, and complete it, as it now is. Its height is 214 feet."

our notice. It is the place of worship at which the mayor and corporation attend officially, and is honoured, during assize-time, by the presence of the judges. Its choir is excellent.

Several clergymen who have obtained subsequently the highest ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the corporation,* have had an opportunity at St. George's, in the capacity of Chaplains and Lecturers, of previously edifying their patrons.† Indeed, the history of the ministers of this church is, in a majority of instances, the history of rectors of Liverpool. The Rev. Henry Wolstenholme,‡ author of two volumes of sermons, who was chaplain from 1734 till 1752; the Rev. Thomas Maddock, M.A.,§ (see Gilbert Wakefield's "Memoirs" respecting the period of his residence here), who officiated in the same capacity from 1752 till 1771; the Rev George Hodson, 1780 till 1784; the Rev. Samuel Renshaw, M.A.,‖ 1784 till 1794; and the Rev. Robert Hankinson Roughsedge,¶ M.A., (chaplain for some months

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* No longer so, the advowson to the Rectory being sold.

† Scarcely any member of this Society can be ignorant of the recent appearance of a work, entitled, "Liverpool, a few years since: by an Old Stager. London: Whittaker & Co. Liverpool: Deighton & Laughton. 1852." The book consists of twenty-five chapters, and extends to 159 pages. A copy of it was, by the politeness of Mr. Mather, presented to the Society, at its meeting in November. Although light in its texture, and dealing with the subjects of which it treats in the dashing, sketchy, off-hand manner, which best suits the readers of a newspaper, (its chapters made their appearance originally in the columns of the "Liverpool Albion,") it has many claims on our attention and regard. Leaving to others to expatiate on its easy, graceful, and gentlemanlike style, (only sparkling with by far too many false gems, and condescending to borrow by far too largely from the copious vocabulary of slang,) and on the happy manner in which it has embalmed many persons and events too evanescent otherwise to have escaped the ravaging influence of time, it is enough for my present purpose to observe, that its notices, generally and necessarily very brief, of the Liverpool clergy of a former day, are not among the least of its recommendations. As far as I am competent to judge, from personal knowledge of the parties mentioned, the delineations given are not merely graphic, but characterised by truth and impartiality. I shall make some use of the work in the way of reference.—By the bye, is it not to a well-known and talented clergyman—we will not say where—that we are indebted for this clever production?

‡ Absurdly spoken of as "Rector of St. Nicholas," by Smithers. He was one of the "Rectors of Liverpool," from 1752 till his death in 1771.

§ While minister of St. George's, he published, 1771, a Sermon, entitled, "Religion Necessary to the Being and Happiness of Society."

‖ Author of "Sermons" published 1792.

¶ The "Old Stager," chapter xx., pages 116—119, of his book, speaking of Messrs. Renshaw and Roughsedge, gives us some amusing and characteristic strokes, especially of the latter of them. We cannot but smile at the finale of the somewhat odd rencontre between the Bishop and the Ventriloquist. I well remember the two clerical gentlemen whose names have suggested this present note, when far advanced in life. Mr. Renshaw was of middling stature; Mr. Roughsedge was rather short, and exceedingly thin. Their respective characters seem to me, to have been fairly and happily sketched. I recollect the circumstance, first of Bishop Law, and afterwards of Bishop Blomfield,

of 1794), were all successively promoted from the living of St. George's to the incumbency of the parish. The Rev. Thomas Fishwick, 1771 till 1780; the Rev. Thomas Blundell,* 1795 till 1812; the Rev. Dr. Hodson, and the Rev. John Boughey Monk, M.A., the present minister, constitute the exceptions to the rule of promotion which, while the advowson to the rectories was in the hands of the corporation, prevailed with respect to the chaplains of St. George's.

Speaking of those whose previous services at this church secured to them, as vacancies occurred, a translation to the superior parochial livings, we are led irresistibly to say something of the two present worthy rectors, the Rev. Jonathan Brooks, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, and one of the vice-presidents of our society, and the Rev. Augustus Campbell, M.A. Mr. Brooks, after having acted as lecturer at St. George's from 1813, succeeded Dr. Hodson, as chaplain, about 1822; and Mr. Campbell, who had been successively rector of Wallasey, and vicar of Childwall, was appointed to the lectureship at St. George's, about 1827. Messrs. Renshaw† and Roughsedge, the joint-parish incumbents, having died within a short time of each other, in the autumn of 1829, both medieties of the rectory thereby became vacant. Mr. Brooks almost immediately, and Mr. Campbell shortly afterwards, ‡ were elected by the common council to supply their places. And well have both gentlemen justified the sagacity of their patrons. Whether

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staying each for a brief space with Rector Roughsedge. By the way, the house in which he resided, and where the scene between the Bishop and Alexandré occurred, is the high and somewhat imposing mansion in Mount Pleasant, which stands third from Benson Street, as you go up towards Rodney Street. Next to it, and immediately above it, is the house which was long occupied by Mr. John Bourne, Mayor of Liverpool, 1812, 1813, and which subsequently came into the possession of Mr. Deane, the Attorney. Mr. Roughsedge's name was, if I recollect right, pronounced *Rustedge*.

* Respecting Mr. Thomas Blundell, of St. George's, (not Mr. Blundell of St. Anne's, whose christian name was William,) a few interesting remarks are dropped, in "Liverpool, a few years since," page 124. Mr. Mawdsley, Castle Street, has been good enough to inform me, that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, the Messrs. Blundell, William and Thomas, were cousins, and descendants of Bryan Blundell, the venerated founder of our Blue Coat School. A brother of the Rev. William Blundell, Bryan Blundell, Esq., held a high situation in the Custom House.

† "That kind-hearted man, Rector Renshaw," says the "Old Stager," p. 33, "lived here," Bold Street, "in a corner house, with its door opening upon Newington Bridge."

‡ To the chaplaincy of St. George's, and consequently to higher preferment, the inferior grade of lecturer was generally preliminary, and, looking at the established practice, might almost have been deemed indispensable. Dr. Hodson conformed to the rule; so likewise did Archdeacon Brooks. It was not until he had been about nine years lecturer, that the latter was elevated to the rank of chaplain. Mr. Campbell's case, it strikes me, is the only one in which a clergyman stepped all at once from the St. George's lectureship, into the rectory of the parish.

regarded as a clergyman, a magistrate, or a citizen, the claims of Mr. Brooks to distinction are unquestionable. Few events have been hailed with more pleasure, not merely by members of the Established Church, but by the community at large, than his elevation to the archdeaconry of Liverpool.* Copious reports of the sermons delivered by him on public occasions, always find their way into the newspapers. Nor are Mr. Campbell's literary and scientific attainments less conspicuous than those of his respected colleague. A sermon preached by him about 1824 or 1825, before the then Lord Bishop of Chester, (now Bishop of London), while he was rector of Wallasey, and subsequently published, attracted considerable notice at the time. Another production of his, which has since appeared, has contributed to deepen and strengthen the favourable impression which the former one had produced. Both rectors are decidedly men of business; and are remarkable for the tact, dignity, and impartiality with which they preside at parish and vestry meetings.

One other gentleman, ranking among the chaplains of St. George's of a former day, is entitled to special mention at our hands. I mean the Rev. Frodsham Hodson, D.D.† It may be interesting to the members of the society to be informed, that Liverpool claims him as her own, he having first seen the light here in 1770. His father, the Rev. George Hodson, after having been in succession lecturer and chaplain at St. George's, occupied the place of one of the parish rectors from 1784 till 1794, (April). Young Hodson's career at college gave promise of future eminence. Along with the Rev. Thomas Blundell as chaplain, he was chosen lecturer of St. George's in 1795.‡ To the chaplaincy he succeeded in 1812 or 1813. Prior to that time, however, 1809, his great merits and attainments had occasioned his appointment to the dignity of Principal of Brazen-Nose College in the University of Oxford. Under the circumstances, constant residence in Liverpool, on Dr. Hodson's part, was out of the question. An

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* Mr. Brooks is the first clergyman by whom this preferment has been held.

† Easily distinguishable from William Ballantyne Hodgson, LL.D., who, from about 1839, was for eight or nine years first secretary, and then principal of the Mechanics' Institution, Liverpool.

‡ Not only had one mediety of the rectory been vacated by the death of Dr. Hodson's father, which Mr. Renshaw had been chosen to fill in May 1794, but the death of the Rev. Thomas Dannett, the other rector, soon afterwards, had occasioned the promotion of Mr. Roughsedge to the vacant office. In this way, two clergymen were required for the charges at St. George's.

assistant chaplain, in the first instance, the Rev. James Hamer, M.A.,* and subsequently the Rev. William Pulford, D.D., discharged in his absence, the duties which devolved on him at St. George's. His death took place 1821 or 1822. Dr. Hodson, in addition to his clerical and academical rank, is understood to have been the representative of an old and respectable family in Cheshire. †

The remainder of the history of the clergy of St. George's need not detain us long. When Mr. Brooks became chaplain 1822, the Rev. James Case, M.A., was appointed lecturer. A disease of the eye—amaurosis, I believe—put a stop, at an early period, to his clerical career. His successor was Mr. Campbell. And on the election of Mr. Brooks, and Mr. Campbell to the joint-rectory in 1829, the Rev. J. B. Monk, and the Rev. T. G. Leigh were nominated respectively to the vacated situations of chaplain and lecturer, the former of which Mr. Monk still retains.

It appears by the report of Mr. Shuttleworth, the present town clerk, to which I have once already had occasion to allude, that, in terms of an Act

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* A few interesting lines respecting this gentleman, and the brevity of his career, will be found in the earlier part of the xxi. chapter of the "Old Stager's" book. See page 124.

† Upon none of the clergy whom he notices, does the "Old Stager" dwell longer, or with more intense delight, than on Frodsham Hodson. He evidently writes about him *con amore*. Anecdotes of him, and strictures on his talents and character, occupy by far the greater portion of his xxi. chapter. Well, indeed, might this able writer have been attracted—fascinated, I might say—by such a man. Never, perhaps, has a brighter star, in respect of strength of intellect and scholastic attainments, graced the theological galaxy of the "good old Town." Frodsham Hodson was in himself a host. He might not be particularly pious. His demeanour, in the University might be rather too overbearing and imperious. But he was emphatically, what Thomas Carlyle so much desiderates, *a man*. He might be undervalued and overlooked in Liverpool; but his academical contemporaries understood and appreciated him. He possessed the stuff of which rising men are made, and there can be no doubt, that, had his life been spared, his highest ambition would have been crowned with success. No wonder that such a man has arrested the "Old Stager's" attention. No wonder that he speaks of him with *gusto*. Such of his readers as knew the man, will, I have every reason to think, be ready to participate with the author equally in his admiration and his regret.

Knowing as I do the lively interest with which spots that have been hallowed by the residence, or even by the footsteps of the illustrious deceased are apt to be regarded, and believing Dr. Hodson to have been, out of sight, one of the most illustrious clergymen, if not the most so, in an intellectual point of view, whom Liverpool has produced, I may mention, that, by means of the local Directories, we are able to point to his several places of abode here after having been appointed to St. George's, 1795. 1st. In 1796 and 1800, he resided at 13, Great George's Street. 2nd. In 1803, 4, 5, and 7, his place of abode was in Duke Street, No. 72, or 74, or 76, for it is variously stated. (Was not this the large long house in Duke Street, corner of Suffolk Street, purchased by John M'Culloch, Esq., surgeon, about 1811, and inhabited by him for many years afterwards?) During these periods, he was a lodger with Elizabeth Hodson, I presume his mother or sister. 3rd. Probably after his marriage, he took up his abode at 36, Mount Pleasant.

of Parliament passed in 1838, instead of two ministers, a chaplain and a lecturer, St. George's has now, and is to have in future but one incumbent. In 1838, Mr. Monk and Mr. Leigh filled the two charges. Only on occasion of the death or resignation of either, were the provisions of the Act just spoken of to begin to take effect. Mr. Leigh's resignation of the lectureship at St. George's was the result, several years ago, of his being promoted to the Vicarage of Walton. This left Mr. Monk sole minister. Certain alterations with regard to stipend have been consequent on his altered position. It may be worth while to mention, that he is the last individual who will have been indebted for the living of this church to our municipal body. "The advowson and right of presentation to the church," formerly belonging to the corporation, "was sold on the 4th of December, 1839, to Mr. John Fletcher, for the sum of £715."—Report, p. 12.

To what goes before, common report enables me to add, that the right of presentation to this Church has recently been purchased by Mr. John Bramley-Moore.

9.—*All Saints, now St. Joseph's, R.C.*

"This church," we are told in the work entitled, "Pictorial Liverpool," published by Henry Lacey in 1844, "is situated in Grosvenor Street, Rose Place, and occupies the site of a once famous tennis court.* It was erected in 1797, and was opened for divine service in 1798. It has accommodation for 2,000 persons.† The church has not been consecrated, and is only licensed. The dimensions are 100 feet by 48." See p. 261.

There I find him to have stayed, at all events on occasion of his visits to Liverpool, in 1810, 11, 13, and 16. Subsequently, until the period of his death, Oxford was exclusively his place of residence. The Nos. of houses given, must be understood, not according to the present, but the former mode of reckoning.

I cannot dismiss this note, perhaps already too long, without acquainting my readers, that by the zeal and sedulous care of Mr. Jones, a former librarian at the Athenæum, and father of the gentleman who so worthily and efficiently at present discharges the duties of the office, that Institution possesses a series of Liverpool Directories, from 1766, when the first was published, till the present time. This collection, as it is *unique*, so is it also said to be perfect. There are, however, two large and long *lacunæ* in it, the one between 1781 and 1790, and the other between 1790 and 1796. Was no Directory published during either the one, or the other of these intervals?

* Troughton says, "This church was originally a tennis court; but falling into disuse, it was purchased and converted into a place of worship. It is commodious and neat within, but the exterior is uncouth and irregular." p. 384. Our friend and colleague, Thomas Moore, Esq. informs me, that he has a distinct recollection of having been drilled in that tennis court, with his brother volunteers, during the first French revolutionary war, prior to the erection of the church.

† "It will accommodate 2,600 persons, and is well attended."—Troughton's History.

Thus briefly is dismissed the history of an edifice, many circumstances connected with which justify a more minute and detailed notice, on the part of those who have occasion to treat of local religious affairs.

It is understood to have been built expressly for the Rev. Robert Banister, A.B, (who had for some time been one of the parish curates, and in that capacity had become exceedingly popular,) by his attached friends. If I am not misinformed, it was originally intended that this gentleman should have been minister of Christ Church.* When, however, in consequence of the currency of reports to which it is undesirable and unnecessary more particularly to advert, Mr. Houghton, the builder of that noble edifice, † saw meet to change his mind on the subject, the late Mr. Richard Walker, and some others, who espoused Mr. Banister's cause, and considered him to have been ill-used, erected "All Saints," and made a present of it to him. Troughton says, p. 384, that the church "was purchased by the Rev. Robert Banister, A.B., sole proprietor, and the present incumbent."‡

Possession of this church Mr. Banister retained, and in it he continued to officiate, until his death, April 3rd, 1829. For a long series of years, he was probably the most popular minister in Liverpool. Although nominally in connexion with the Church of England, his attachment to it appears to have been by no means particularly strong. Not only was the building allowed to remain unconsecrated during his lifetime, and were modifications of the liturgy introduced, but for some time before his death, I have reason to think that he performed divine service, without an episcopal license. One thing I know, that he occasionally admitted dissenters to his pulpit. I remember distinctly having heard the well-known William Gadsby, of Manchester, a Baptist minister, preach there one week-day evening, in the year 1826; and having accompanied the late Mr. William Rushton, jun. and Mr. Gadsby after sermon into the vestry, where I was introduced to Mr. Banister, and where I saw him paid for the use of his church by Mr. Rushton.

Want of time and space prevents me from dwelling at length on the

* The report is confirmed by the language of Lacey, in his "Pictorial Liverpool," p. 84.

† Opened 1798 as a dissenting place of worship, or, at all events, as a chapel in which the service of the Church of England was to be used with some modifications. Subsequently, however, 1800, it was consecrated. Troughton mentions its cost as having been £18,000 and upwards.

‡ This author's History of Liverpool appeared in 1810.

character and labours of Mr. Banister. This circumstance I deeply regret. The gentleman in question acted in his time too conspicuous a part, and his local influence over the so-called Evangelical portion of a whole generation of Churchmen was too great, to justify any one treating professedly of Liverpool men, and Liverpool affairs,—especially those of a religious nature,—in passing him over, or even in bestowing upon him only a brief and cursory notice. To the necessities of the case alone do I submit. Not that Mr. Banister was a man of brilliant or commanding talents. Quite the reverse. As I saw him in advanced life, he had a heavy, although not entirely unintellectual look; and according to the best information which I can obtain, he never had any pretensions to rank among those who have stood high, and been distinguished in the art of oratory. Mr. Banister was, I suspect, one qualified to shine only in the absence of his superiors, or, rather, by contrast with his inferiors.

Velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

Mr. Samuel Walter, nephew of the late Mr. Lewin of Liverpool, who for many years was a Swedenborgian minister and a teacher of youth in this town, tells me, that our present subject was slow and deliberate, sometimes even apparently cold and unimpassioned in his utterance. Altogether, he says, a preacher of whom it could not with truth have been asserted, that he was an eloquent man. What, then, constituted the secret of the power which for a long time he wielded and exercised over large, attentive, and deeply interested auditories? Without superior abilities—without rhetorical artifices and flourishes—without any thing peculiarly dignified or striking in his personal appearance—what was the magic by which for years he charmed and captivated hundreds, I might be justified in saying thousands of his townsmen? It may be replied, by the subject-matter of his discourses. The answer, I believe, to be a correct one. At a time when "Extract of Blair," to use the "Old Stager's" phrase,* was regarded by too many of the Established Clergy both in and out of Liverpool, (and by too many Dissenting Ministers likewise,) as a panacea for every moral and

* "Nothing was heard from our own pulpits but what might have passed muster at Athens, or been preached without offence in the mosque of Constantinople. In fact, 'Extract of Blair' was the dose administered, Sunday after Sunday, by drowsy preachers to drowsy congregations. If it did no harm, it did no good."—*Liverpool, a few years since*, p. 109. As regards *Blairism*, see further what is said by this clever writer, when speaking of one of our beneficed clergymen, of a former day, at page 116.

spiritual malady, and copiously administered by them to their hearers accordingly,* Mr. Banister took a different course. Along with the Rev. W. Wise, then incumbent of St. James',† he put to the test the efficacy of another mode of treatment. He proclaimed the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the sole grounds of hope towards God to guilty man; and followed up the proclamation by appeals to the conscience founded on these revealed and heavenly verities. One effect of this, in Mr. Banister's case, was to elevate him to the rank of the most popular Church Clergyman of his day. Combined with the attractions of the doctrine which he preached, there was, I have been told—and this especially in the earlier part of his career—something peculiarly solemn, earnest, and impressive in his manner. Not affectedly so, for he was the embodiment of simplicity itself. Still, when speaking, he made himself to be felt. The way in which he read the service of the Church was easy, familiar, and even conversational, but it told upon his fellow worshippers. Having thus beforehand suitably impressed and prepared their minds, he delivered to them a plain, forcible and scriptural sermon. Need we, when made acquainted with these particulars, feel astonished at his success? Mr. Walter, who knew Mr. Banister well, and to whom I have been indebted for much information concerning him, has been kind enough to inform me, that a reason far more creditable to that gentleman, than the one commonly assigned—namely, his faithfulness and fearless honesty in dealing with the conscience of his intended patron—cost him the living of Christ Church. Let this be recorded to his honour.

Some time after Mr. Banister's death in 1829, All Saints came into the possession of the Rev. Henry Tudsbury Turner, a truly excellent man, then having deacons' orders in the Church of England. This gentleman has since been admitted to full orders by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and is now settled at Bardsley, Ashton-under-Lyne. What followed Mr. Turner's temporary occupation of All Saints is so singular, and brings on the

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* I cannot conceive anything better, or more happily expressed, than the estimate of "Blair's (Hugh) Sermons," given by the "Old Stager," at page 109, of his volume, almost immediately after the passage just quoted.

† One of the few mistakes, (as far as known to me,) committed by the "Old Stager," is when he says, at the commencement of chapter xix.: "None of the Evangelical clergy had then," 40 or 50 years since, "appeared in this district, to stimulate the pace of the old-fashioned jog-trot High Churchmen." He happens to have forgotten that first Mr. Wise, at St. James', and then, when his star began to pale in the ascendant, Mr. Banister, had, as "the salt of" the Established Church here, kept it from a state of absolute putrefaction. They were not certainly fiery zealots; but they were calm, conscientious, decided, efficient men.

tapis a person of such notoriety, that we may well be indulged in some copiousness of detail.

Towards the end of the year 1827, there appeared in Liverpool, the Rev. George Montgomery West.* This individual, a native of Ireland, and for some time labouring as a local preacher among the Wesleyan Methodists there, had visted the United States of America, and been brought into contact with the Right Rev. Philander Chase, then Bishop of Ohio, in connexion with the American Episcopal Church. By this Bishop, who had been struck with his eloquence and other ministerial gifts, and to whom he had been specially recommended by Lord Kenyon, and other influential personages in England, first deacons' and then priests' orders were conferred on Mr. West, in 1827.† To the former orders, he was admitted *sub dio*, or, to use the bishop's phraseology in his official letters, "beneath the spreading trees of Marriott Park, in view of Kenyon College, on the banks of Vernon River, near Gambier, Knox County, State of Ohio, North America." Fortified with the Bishop's credentials, as well as with commissions on the part of that prelate, to act as his chaplain, and to raise funds throughout the British Islands, for the purpose of assisting in the erection of the buildings of Kenyon College, Mr. West returned to this country.

The American Bishops deriving their authority, partly from a gentleman who had been consecrated by prelates of the Scottish Episcopal Church, after the acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States in 1783,‡ but principally from parties consecrated in this country by the hierarchy of the Church of England, under powers specially granted by an Act of Parliament passed in 1787, the validity of Mr. West's ordination was at once and unhesitatingly recognised on this side of the Atlantic.§

* A.M. of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.—The following copy of the diploma issued by this infant Academical institution of our Transatlantic friends, may not be unacceptable or uninteresting to some members of the Society:—"Praeses et Professores Collegii in Republica, Ohio, omnibus literarum studiosis: Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Vobis notum sit, quod Dominum GEORGIUM MONTGOMERY WEST, titulo, graduque Artium liberalium Magistri adornavimus et condecoravimus, et ei fruenda contulimus omnia et singula privilegia, honores atque dignitates quæ ubique gentium ad eundem gradum pertinent. Cujus sigillum et autographum præsidis in testimonium sint. Datum ex ædibus academicis," (query, was any permanent building then in existence?) "die undevigesimo Junii, anno salutis millesimo octingentesimo, vigesimo septimo.

PHILANDER CHASE." L.S.

† On the 10th and 17th days of June, 1827, respectively.

‡ See Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen's History of the Scottish Episcopalians.

§ Notwithstanding, by the way, some great and very serious changes made in the language of the liturgy, as used in the United States. Changes, I mean beyond those which were absolutely required by the republican nature of the American Institutions.

Admission to the pulpits of the Established Church followed as a matter of course. Rapidly did he make his way to public favour; and of no preacher in this locality at the time could it be alleged with truth, that he was more decidedly popular. Liverpool was one of the principal scenes of his ministerial labours. From 1827 till 1830 he was in the habit of constantly addressing audiences of our townspeople. St. Mark's, St. Andrew's, and other churches have often resounded with his powerful appeals and inspiriting harangues. The best proof of the influence acquired by him is, that the Liverpool contributions made, under the sanction of the diocesan and clergy,* towards the promotion of the ostensible object for which he had come to Europe, were numerous and liberal. Not to Liverpool, or its neighbourhood, however, were his exertions confined. The cause of Bishop Chase, and Mr. West as his agent, having been espoused by the two English, and the (then) four Irish Archbishops, and a most imposing array of their respective suffragans, (besides many of the nobility and gentry), the pulpits of many churches were thrown open to Mr. West—those of several Irish cathedrals among the rest; and copious streams from that never-failing source, British bounty, continued to flow into the American Episcopal exchequer. At last, bearing with him the gifts of the faithful, and commended in the strongest terms, for his efforts in the good cause, Mr. West went back to the United States in 1830.

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* Mr. West adduces the following documents in proof of this:—1. A letter addressed to him by the then Lord Bishop of Chester, Dr. Blomfield, (now Bishop of London), the closing sentence of which is "Sincerely wishing that you may be successful to *the extent of your wants*, and commending you to the protection of Him in whose service we are engaged, I remain, Rev. Sir, your faithful friend and servant, C. J. CHESTER." 2. A recommendation of several Liverpool Clergymen. "In consideration of this excellent work, and in consequence of the strong recommendation of our bishop, we, the undersigned, who have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. West, desire to add our names and testimony of approbation to his important mission. And we sincerely pray, that, through the divine blessing on his labours, the great and laudable object of them may speedily meet a full accomplishment,—

"Richard Blacow, A.M.,	W. Goddard, A.M.,
T. S. Bowstead, A.M.,	J. Jones, A.M.,
Jon. Brooks, A.M.,	William Rawson, A.M.,
R. P. Buddicom, A.M., F.A.S.,	William Scoresby,
Augustus Campbell, A.M.,	C. L. Swainson, A.M.,
Ambrose Dawson, B.D.,	T. Tattershall, A.M.,
C. T. Gladwin, LL.B.,	H. T. Turner."

The succeeding Bishop of Chester, Dr. Sumner, (1829,) now, 1852, Archbishop of Canterbury was also, it appears, friendly to the cause advocated by Mr. West to which he presented a donation of £10; signifying at the same time, how much it would gratify him to find that the clergy of his diocese were favourable to the measure, and ready to promote its beneficial purpose among their respective congregations.

What happened on Mr. West's arrival may be cursorily touched on. Bishop Chase's reception of his deputy was not exactly the pleasantest in the world. A quarrel between the two gentlemen ensued. The Bishop, in a report or address delivered by him before the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal clergy of Ohio, assembled at Gambier, on Wednesday, September 8, 1830, made allegations, or, at all events broad insinuations unfavourable to Mr. West's integrity. That gentleman defended himself in a long and clever pamphlet, of 64 pp., published at New York, towards the close of the year just named.* A copy of this work, which contains a copious Appendix, is now in my possession. Upon the merits of the dispute between Bishop Chase and Mr. West, I do not venture to pronounce an opinion.

To return to Mr. Turner and the church of All Saints.

This gentleman having taken the church on lease shortly after Mr. Banister's death in 1829, and being himself only in deacons' orders, wished to combine with his own, the services of some one capable of discharging the priestly functions. Mr. West's popularity in Liverpool, as well as throughout the kingdom, was not unknown to him. Nay, he had for some time ranked himself among that preacher's warmest admirers. Under these circumstances, to procure Mr. West's aid and co-operation at All Saints, seemed to him to be indispensable to his own success. Whether or not conversation on the subject had taken place before that gentleman's return to America, I am unable to say. But, at all events, an invitation to him to become joint-pastor was despatched across the Atlantic. He acceded to the request. About the beginning of 1831, we find him again in Liverpool; and thenceforward, for some time at least, the congregation of All Saints was edified by the united ministrations of Mr. Turner and himself.

Singularly enough, Mr. West came back to England, not only as victorious in the controversy which he had maintained with the American prelate, but likewise claiming the *status* and privileges of a bishop for himself. Not of the Church of England, but of the Episcopal Church of America, or, rather as he afterwards expressed it, of the Primitive Episcopal Church.

* Its title is, "Reply to certain statements set forth by Bishop Chase, and contained in his Report or Address delivered before the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ohio, on Wednesday, September 8, 1830; and afterwards by him published in the *Gambier Observer*, of September 10, 1830. By George Montgomery West. With an Appendix. New York: Printed by William A. Mercein, No. 240, Pearl Street, 1830."

His right to this dignity he was not slow in asserting and vindicating. As to the grounds on which he rested his claim, these will be found stated and urged in his "Reply to Bishop Chase's statements," pp. 26, 29, 34, and 38; and in the "Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine," three numbers of which appeared in the months of April, May, and June, 1832.†

The following resolutions adopted by the minister, church wardens, and vestry of All Saints' Church shew, that Mr. West's claim to the possession of Episcopal rank was easily and readily admitted by them:—"At a convention, or vestry meeting held at All Saints' Church, Grosvenor Street, Liverpool, on the 18th day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty one, after prayer to Almighty God for his guidance and blessing, it was UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED:—

"First, that having read, and maturely considered the several documents and other evidences of the consecration of the Rev. George Montgomery West, Master of Arts, by the Bishop of Ohio, we are fully convinced of the *scriptural* validity of said consecration; and although the *temporality* of any regular diocese is not *necessarily* implied, yet we firmly believe, that the diocese of *Ohio* was intended by the Bishop as a consequence of the consecration.

"Second, that being sound churchmen, our congregation being large, respectable, and increasing, although the church has never been consecrated, and is not under any Episcopal authority, and being fully satisfied as to the qualifications of the Right Rev. George Montgomery West for the episcopal office, we now unanimously resolve to communicate these our *conscientious* views to him, accompanied by our respectful and urgent requests both on our own behalf, and that of *the congregation generally*, that he, will from henceforth preside over the church and congregation, and that should he consent, we will, to the utmost of our power, support the *dignity of his office.*

"(Signed), "H. T. TURNER, *Minister*,
"WILLIAM BECKETT,
"DANIEL POVAH, } *Church Wardens.*

"*To the Right Reverend*
"GEORGE MONTGOMERY WEST."

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† Published by J. Pannell, 24, Byrom Street, Liverpool. A well executed engraving of Mr. West is prefixed to the April Number.

Persons desirous to read the letter which was transmitted to Mr. West along with these resolutions, his reply, and the vote of thanks passed in consequence, will find the whole in the "Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine" for April, 1832, pp. 56—58.

On this footing, Mr. Turner and Mr. West acted as joint-pastors of All Saints during the remainder of the year 1831, and for a portion of 1832: Mr. West, in the meantime delivering lectures in favour of the Primitive Episcopal Church, in vindication of his own dignity as a bishop, and with a view to the introduction of certain alterations into the Book of Common Prayer. His popularity was then at its height. Among the working classes, it may be described as having been almost unbounded. He could boast also, of an augmentation of adherents of a superior grade. During the currency of the period of which we are now speaking, a most respectable Jewish gentleman, who had been converted to Christianity, and who was officiating as minister of a Hebrew Church of Christian Israelites, assembling for public worship in Sir Thomas' Buildings, placed himself and his church under Mr. West's episcopal care and jurisdiction.

In January 1832, was printed, by Mr. Pannell, I believe, the altered form of Common Prayer, intended for the use of the "Primitive Episcopal Church."* This, as will be seen by looking back to what has been said respecting the Octagon, or St. Catherine's Church, was *the second improved liturgy* which had made its appearance in Liverpool.

Early in 1832, occurred the consecration of the church of All Saints, and the admission to deacons' and priests' orders, of several individuals, by Mr. West and another person claiming the rank and authority of a bishop, the following account of which I extract from the *Liverpool Mercury*, of February 24th:—"PRIMITIVE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—On Wednesday se'nnight," (February 15th), "the Church of All Saints, Grosvenor Street, was consecrated by the Rev. T. R. Mathews, D.D., one of the bishops of the Primitive Episcopal Church. The Rev. George Montgomery West, who is also a bishop of this church, read the morning service, after which he robed himself in the full costume of his office, and, together with Bishop Mathews, read the consecration service at the altar. After an appropriate sermon from Colossians i, 19,

* The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Primitive Episcopal Church. Revised in England, in the year of our Redemption, 1831, &c. &c.

Bishop Matthews ordained a number of individuals who were candidates for holy orders, and they were then admitted to the order of deacons. The Primitive Episcopalians reject the Thirty Nine Articles, and have compiled a code of doctrines in their stead. A prayer book for the use of the body is now in the press. The church of All Saints is the mother church in this country; but the Hebrew Congregation of Christian Israelites, accustomed to meet in Sir Thomas' Buildings, have joined the new connexion, and their place of worship was consecrated on Friday, the 17th instant, by Bishops Mathews and West."—What I have to say farther in regard to the subject of consecrations and ordinations may be thus summed up:—St. Clement's Church, (Salem Chapel), Russell Street, nearly opposite Warren Street, was consecrated by *Bishop* West, on Friday, the 30th of March; and, likewise, an edifice in Preston, on Friday, the 6th of April. On the former occasion, the Bishop admitted a gentleman to deacons' orders—making altogether seven who had received ordination as deacons or priests, at the hands of Dr. (?) Mathews and himself.

Harmony between Messrs. Turner and West does not appear to have been of long continuance after *the consecration* of All Saints. Mr. Turner, who was and has always approved himself to be a gentleman of the highest integrity and respectability of character, deemed himself compelled, on the 27th March,* to intimate to Mr. West, the discontinuance of their joint-ministerial connexion; informing him also that from that time, he should take the duties of All Saints exclusively on his own shoulders. Following up this step, Mr. Turner, instead of Mr. West, on the evening of the next day, Wednesday the 28th, made his appearance in the pulpit. For a description of the scene to which this gave rise, one of the most extraordinary perhaps ever witnessed in a place of worship, members of the society, who are curious to know particulars, must be referred to the other newspapers of the time,† if not satisfied with an extract from the columns of the *Liverpool Mercury*, of Friday, the 30th March, 1832, which I have given in the note below.‡

* 1832.

† See the *Liverpool Journal*, of March 31st, the *Albion*, of April 2nd, and the *Courier*, of April 4th. Discussions having arisen on the subject, enquirers may consult the "*Mercury*," of April 6th, 20th, and 27th, and the columns of the newspapers first referred to.

‡ After a good deal of preliminary matter, which it is unnecessary to quote, the editor thus proceeds:—"The Rev. Mr. Turner, as we are informed, after repeatedly remonstrating with his colleague, against the alterations proposed by him in the Book of Common Prayer, and also against the doctrines occasionally advanced by him in his sermons, in-

Mr. West's stay in Liverpool after his rupture with Mr. Turner extended to several months. Having been rallied round by the great majority of the congregation, and supported at first by six of the gentlemen on whom he had conferred orders, matters for a while appeared to go on prosperously. A piece of ground in Soho Street, nearly opposite to Queen Anne Street, on which was to be erected a church destined for Mr. West, was bargained for; and reports were industriously circulated that money to the amount of three thousand pounds had been instantly subscribed for the purchase of the land, and the completion of the building.* Every thing seeming to hold out the prospect of a successful issue to the undertaking, the foundation stone of the intended edifice was laid by Mr. West himself with episcopal pomp, and suitable religious rites on Easter Monday, April 23rd, 1832, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, whom even a continued and drenching rain could not deter from remaining to witness the whole of the imposing ceremonial. Until their church could be finished, the Music Hall, Bold Street, in its present altered state,† was selected by the members of the society, to be their place of meeting for public worship. But, alas! the shew of prosperity was not of long duration. Subscriptions to the required amount, indeed to any available amount, were not forthcoming. And, as "the course of" party attachment, whether religious or political, like that "of true love," seldom or never, for any length of time, "runs smooth," unpleasant feelings, ending in disputes sprang up between Mr. West and his friends. Acrimo-

formed him at last that his services would in future be dispensed with; and that he would not be permitted to preach again. On Wednesday last, when the church was as usual crowded to overflowing in expectation of the Rev. Mr. West's customary lecture, the Rev. Mr. Turner took possession of the pulpit, and prevented his reverend colleague from occupying it. The scene which ensued, we are told, baffles all description, and approached very much in tumult and disorder, to what is said of the recent exhibitions at Mr. Irving's chapel in London, the head-quarters of the unknown tongues. The "tongues" of men and women were immediately put into requisition, and amidst the shouting of the one, and the crying and screaming of the other, the partisans of the ejected minister, who formed far the largest part of the congregation, proceeded to pack up their cushions, prayer books, bibles, &c., &c. and took their departure; some of them telling the clergyman in the pulpit, that he might preach to the walls if he pleased, for they would follow Mr. West wherever he went. The uproar was so great, that it could be distinctly heard at some distance from the church; and persons passing in the streets went in to see what could be the occasion of so unbecoming a tumult in a place of worship." In the No. of April 6th, an article in the *Mercury* mentions, that "the noise and confusion outside of the church did not finally subside until about eleven o'clock at night." By some of Mr. West's friends, the accuracy of the *Mercury's* account was called in question.

* It was given out that the church when completed, would accommodate above 2,600 hearers.

† When the paper was submitted to the Society, this was the case; but now the building no longer exists.

nious language was uttered from the pulpit. The breach continued widening. And in this case the *iræ amantium* did not issue in the *redintegratio amoris*. On the contrary, a final and irreconcilable quarrel was the result. The body was broken up, and Mr. West quitted the town.*

From Liverpool, Mr. West proceeded to Birmingham, where at first he met with a very gratifying reception. In that bee-hive of industry, however, he did not long continue. Having raised an action for defamation of character, in which he was successful, he again left Englaud, and set foot on the shores of America, in 1834.

Meanwhile, the site of the intended chapel in Soho Street was sold to the Baptists, who erected on it a small but neat edifice, of which Mr. Moses Fisher, an excellent man who had been for several years pastor of Byrom Street Chapel, which he left in 1824, and who had subsequently officiated to congregations in Oil and Cockspur Streets, became, about 1835, first minister. To him, after his death, in 1840, succeeded Mr. Lancaster.

I may here take occasion to mention, that in the printed document to which reference is made in a preceding note, the managers, so far from having "enriched themselves at the expense of their pastor's labours," endeavour to shew a deficit in the funds, and themselves to be losers, or at all events to be lying under obligations to the amount of £111 4s. 4½d.

As regards Mr. West's subsequent history, it may be remarked, that on his arrival in the United States, in 1834, he joined the Presbyterian Church there, and was for some years an exceedingly popular minister in connexion with that body, first, at Philadelphia, and afterwards in Long Island, New York. Certain proceedings before the Presbytery of Brooklyn, having issued in the severance of his union with the Presbyterians, about the year 1843, he, some time afterwards, made his appearance again in Liverpool, as the Rev. George Montgomery West, D.D., and for several Sundays preached in the Portico, Newington Bridge.† This happened about 1844 or 1845. Having failed in obtaining the support of old friends, he went to Bristol, where, for a while, his talents attracted notice, and his

* From a printed document now lying before me, being an account of the receipts and expenditure at the Music Hall, during the period of the society's assembling there, I perceive that the connexion between Mr. West and it terminated in February, 1833. The amount received appears to have been exceedingly trifling, when we take into consideration the number and apparent enthusiasm of Mr. West's followers.

† The Orangemen of Liverpool were invited by placards bearing his name, to countenance his preaching, and enrol themselves under his banner.

popularity was considerable. About 1847, having been appointed by a majority of the Trustees, minister of St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Carrubbers' Close, Edinburgh, he preached in it for several months with great acceptance, he and his friends holding it, during that time, in spite of the refusal of Bishop Terrott, formally to recognise and admit him as incumbent. On quitting Edinburgh, Mr. West went to America, where, I believe, he now is.

With Mr. West's superior abilities, and effective pulpit oratory, what might he not have been and done? A very graphic account of his personal appearance, and public ministrations, after the close of his pastorship at All Saints', will be found in the "Comet,"—a short-lived but clever hebdomedal, conducted by M. J. Falvey,—of the 4th August, 1832.

Turning from the eccentric and somewhat painful career of this extraordinary man, we may notice, that his expulsion from All Saints' in March, 1832, was at no distant period followed by the abandonment of his charge, on the part of his amiable and excellent colleague. Left with but a small minority of the congregation, Mr. Turner found it impossible to get on. For a while, he retired into private life. Shortly after his leaving All Saints', it was regularly licensed as a place of worship, in connexion with the Established Church, by the then Bishop of Chester. Under his authority, it was re-opened, November 27th, 1833.

Two clergymen of the Establishment, subsequently to this, officiated in the building in succession, namely, the Rev. John Lyons, from the end of 1833 till about 1838; and the Rev. Andrew M'Conkey, M.A., from that period, until 1846 or 1847.

Circumstances having rendered the sale of the Church necessary, it came into the possession of the Roman Catholics, five or six years ago. By them it has been named St. Joseph's. The burial-ground, a large portion of which belongs to Protestants, is still of course open to interments by them, on giving a specified notice.

In lieu of the Church thus abandoned by the Protestant communion, a new All Saints', connected with the Establishment, has been erected in Great Nelson Street, towards the north end of the town, of which the Rev. Henry Marlen is incumbent.

10.—*St. Stephen's.*

Walking along Byrom Street, from Scotland Road, just before reaching

the junction of the former street with Shaw's Brow, Whitechapel, and Dale Street, we observe on our left hand, an old-fashioned, quaint, and small, but rather neat-looking ecclesiastical structure, with a belfry. This is the Church of St. Stephen's.*

Originally erected by the Baptists, and opened for public worship by that respectable sect of Christians, in 1722,† this was long the sole Baptist meeting-house in Liverpool. Hill-Cliffe Chapel, near Warrington, was the place where the Baptists first assembled for devotional purposes in this part of the country. Their first public meetings, in connexion with this town, were held at Low Hill, Everton, in 1700.‡ For the space of 14 years, they licensed and worshipped in a house situated near the present Necropolis. Afterwards a small chapel was built by them, close to the burial ground still existing in Everton Road.§ Mr. Peter Davenport seems to have become their first regular pastor in 1714.‖ From the period of the removal of the congregation to Byrom Street,¶ until 1792, what is now St. Stephen's Church continued to be the property of the Baptist body.** In 1773, they somewhat enlarged the building,†† and in 1789‡‡ they abandoned it, on occasion of their taking possession of the larger and more commodious structure, then just erected a little further to the north, at the bottom of Gerard Street. The deserted chapel was disposed of to the Church of England in 1792. It was, on its being acquired by the Establishment, that it came to be known by the appellation of St. Stephen's. It has been consecrated.

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* An engraving of the Church may be seen in Herdman's "Pictorial Relics."

† "Annals," Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 262, &c., &c. By Mr. Taylor, in the MS. volume belonging to the Renshaw Street Chapel Library, so often already referred to, Byrom Street Chapel is said to have been opened in 1729. See MS. page 1, note.

‡ At the house of Dr. Daniel Fabius.

§ This burial-ground serves to indicate the sites of Dr. Fabius' property, and of the Chapel mentioned in the text.

‖ For many of the preceding facts I have been indebted partly to the note, p. 1, of Mr. Taylor's MS. volume, partly to "Lacey" (that is, Underhill,) and partly to Mr. Robert Hall, now of New York.

¶ 1722 as generally stated.

** The Ministers who succeeded Mr. Davenport were Mr. John Sedgefield, 1718, or 1719; Mr. John Johnson; Mr. John Oulton, from Leominster, 1748; Mr. Samuel Hall, 1765; and Mr. Samuel Medley, 1772. Mr. Taylor's MS. volume represents Mr. John Turner to have been Mr. Davenport's successor.

†† See page 94 of the Memoir of Mr. Samuel Medley, written by his Son, and prefixed to his two Sermons. 1800.

‡‡ So says Mr. Medley, in the Memoir just referred to, page 91. So also says Mr. Taylor in his MS. volume, note, p. 1. Other authorities specify 1787.

I should not consider myself justified in passing over, without some slight notice, two men, of more than ordinary talents and eminence, whose public services the Baptists enjoyed, during their occupation of the edifice of which we are now treating. Besides the local notoriety which both of them acquired, they were both well known, and highly esteemed, by their contemporaries in the Metropolis, and in many other parts of England.

The first of these was Mr. John Johnson. This gentleman was Pastor of the Congregation assembling in Byrom Street Chapel for about twenty years, closing his ministry there in 1747 or 1748. He left in consequence of certain peculiarities of doctrine which he had adopted, and was zealously promulgating,—deemed by some to be Sabellian, and certainly inconsistent with systematic Calvinism—having rendered him obnoxious to a large and influential portion of the church over which he presided. He and his adherents, by whom he was much beloved, and who continued tenderly attached to him to the last, removed to the chapel at the bottom of Stanley Street, and corner of Matthew Street,—still standing, but now or lately used as an old furniture warehouse—where he preached till the period of his death, which took place at the advanced age of about 90, in 1791.* Mr. Johnson was a vigorous and originally-minded man. One of his great characteristics was singular acuteness of intellect. A staunch supporter of the Royal House of Brunswick, and Revolution principles, was he—evinced, among other ways, by his having enrolled himself as a volunteer in the Liverpool Regiment, raised for the defence of the town, during the rebellion of 1745. He was founder of the sect commonly denominated Johnsonian Baptists, who, besides the society here, had affiliated congregations at Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire, and elsewhere. A very good abstract of the views entertained by Mr. Johnson and his followers is given in Hurd's History of various religious denominations. See, also, the *Bibliotheca Britannica*. Mr. Johnson was a rather voluminous writer. Many years ago, I remember perusing two octavo volumes of his discourses—one or two volumes of his, containing minute and laboured explanations of his peculiar sentiments—and a volume or two of his printed correspondence.

The other Baptist minister of Byrom Street Chapel, (St. Stephen's,) to whom I have alluded, is the well-known, and once eminently and deservedly popular Samuel Medley. No small degree of information concerning this

* His friends left the Matthew Street Chapel, to take possession of a place of worship erected by them in Comus Street, about 1803.

gentleman, I have gleaned from parties who were alive when I came to Liverpool, (1823,) and who had been his stated or occasional hearers; and for more minute and authentic details, I have had recourse to the Memoir of him, which, after his death, was published by his son.* All that I have heard and read tends to establish Mr. Medley's great fame and success as a preacher.† Mr. Medley, junior, after giving some interesting particulars concerning his great-grandfather,‡ and grandfather,§ informs us that his father, our present subject, was born at Cheshunt, Herts, June 23rd, 1738. Passing over the earlier portions of Mr. Medley's life, with the remark, that at one time he held the rank of a midshipman, and a commission as master's mate in the Royal Navy, and was present, on board of the Intrepid, 74 guns, at the hard fought action off Cape Lagos, 18th August, 1759, where he was severely wounded, we find him, after having quitted the service, to have taught a school for some time in London. At last, under the influence, and by means of the persuasions of the justly celebrated Dr. Giffard of the British Museum, he was induced to enter on the work of the ministry, among the Baptists, in August, 1766. He commenced his stated labours at Watford, Herts, and was there ordained, July 13th, 1768. To take the pastoral charge of the Byrom Street church and congregation, Liverpool, he was invited by a letter, bearing date, November 11th, 1771. Having preached to the people, with great approbation, in the December and January following, his formal admission as pastor of the Church took place on the 15th day of April, 1772. His subsequent career in Liverpool was one certainly of almost unbounded popularity, but it was one likewise of great and increasing labour. In every possible way, he laid himself out to go good. Sailors and their interests, temporal and spiritual, were very particularly the objects of his regard. The seamen belonging to the port he frequently addressed from the pulpit, and he was incessantly engaged in conversing with them privately. It is to him, I think, that Mr. Wakefield refers in his "Memoirs," vol. i,

* "Memoirs of the late Rev. Samuel Medley, compiled by his son: to which are annexed two Sermons. London: Johnson; 1800." A likeness of Mr. Medley is prefixed.

† Confirmed, were additional evidence required, by Mr. Taylor's remarks, in the note in his MS. volume, page 1, so often already referred to.

‡ One of the suite,—private secretary, I believe,—of the Earl of Kinnoull, ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, at Constantinople, from 1729 till 1736.

§ This gentleman was master of eight or nine different languages, several of which he spoke fluently. He was the intimate friend of the celebrated James Hervey, author of "Meditations among the Tombs," &c., who seems frequently to have consulted him on literary and theological topics.

pp. 208, 209, Edn. 1804, where he speaks of him, as was but too much the custom with that able, learned, and honest, but deeply prejudiced man, in terms of extreme and unjustifiable severity. Notwithstanding every drawback, Mr. Medley stood deservedly high, not only on intellectual, but on moral and religious grounds, in public estimation. His character was unblemished. Death put an end to his career of usefulness and popularity, July 17th, 1799, soon after his having completed the 61st year of his age.

Since the time that St. Stephen's came into the hands of the Church of England, 1792, the services of a number of talented clergymen have been enjoyed by its congregation. Among these, I find recorded the names of the Rev. George Henry Piercy, 1796—1805*; the Rev. Joshua King, now Rector of Woodchurch, Cheshire, a gentleman of talents, as well as of considerable notoriety in this district of the country, 1807; Rev. William, afterwards Dr. Pulford, 1810—1813; Rev. John Richard Tetlow, M.A., 1816; Rev. Alfred Hadfield, M.A., 1818—1821; Rev. Joseph Hilton, M.A., 1823—1830; Rev. Jacob Picton, M.A., 1833—1839, and the Rev. Thomas S. Ackland, B.A., the present incumbent. It will no doubt be gratifying to my colleagues, and the auditory, to be informed, if they do not already know the fact, that in this church and district, our able, accomplished, indefatigable, and respected Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Hume, has for three years been labouring as Mr. Ackland's substitute, with characteristic zeal and success. The tracts which he has published in relation to the statistics of a neighbouring district of which he is incumbent, and also of St. Stephen's, have attracted much notice and will remain as monuments of his industry, accuracy, discrimination, enlightened judgment, and ardent and benevolent desire to promote the welfare of our large and flourishing, but singularly heterogeneous mercantile community.

St. Stephen's is of but limited dimensions, being capable of accommodating not more than 550 hearers.

11.—*St. John the Evangelist.*

This edifice, which stands close to the Medical Institution in Hope

* "One of the best preachers in these old times was the incumbent of St. Stephen's, Byrom Street, the Rev. G. H. Piercy, a fine fellow, in every way. He is still alive at his living of Chaddesley, in Worcestershire, to which he was presented through the influence of old Queen Charlotte. * * * Mr. Piercy must have reached the age of the patriarchs, at least."—*Liverpool a few years since*, p. 110. See also page 115. By the way, an amusing fact or two with respect to the Rev. R. K. Milner, of St. Catherine's, already spoken of, will be found recorded, page 110, of the lively work which we have just quoted.

Street, although first opened for public worship not further back than 1836, and consequently ranking among our more modern ecclesiastical structures, is not now in the possession of those by whom it was erected.

It is indebted for its existence to a body denominating itself "the Christian Society," between which and the Primitive Methodists there are, as regards doctrine and practice, many remarkable points of agreement. At the head of it originally was the Rev. Robert Aitken, a gentleman who, if I am not mistaken, had been admitted to Holy Orders in the Established Church, by one of the Bishops of Sodor and Man. Having, under the influence of conscientious motives, temporarily quitted the pale of the Establishment, to which he afterwards returned, the formation of the "Christian Society," and the erection of St. John the Evangelist, bear testimony to the zeal with which he followed out his new-born convictions, and the great popularity which he speedily attained.

Mr. Aitken in his efforts to propagate the doctrines, and advance the interests of his new sect, was ably seconded by the Rev. John Bowes, who soon after the opening of the edifice in question, took the pastoral care of the congregation assembling in it, and has more recently been distinguished by his discussions with the Mormonites. This gentleman who is pretty extensively known, is now regularly engaged as a preacher in Manchester.

Occasion having been found for Mr. Bowes' services and active exertions elsewhere, in promoting the objects of the "Christian Society," Mr. Aitken took upon himself, about the year 1838, statedly to conduct public worship, within the walls of the chapel in Hope Street.

During the period of Mr. Aitken's ministrations there, it was my lot, one week-day evening, to hear him preach. His sermon, and its effects upon his auditory, I shall never forget. The place was crowded almost to suffocation. Having selected as the subject of his discourse, Christ's healing of Jairus' daughter, he spoke upon it for the space of 45 or 50 minutes. His language was pointed and energetic. His manner, impassioned. Occasionally, indeed, bordering on the wildest enthusiasm. Upon his hearers, his discourse, which was carefully composed, but declamatory, told with prodigious effect. From about ten minutes to a quarter of an hour before reaching his conclusion,* many of the audience, apparently unable to control themselves, were giving loud vent to their feelings. "Amen," "Lord hear

* Might I not say climax?

him," "Come Lord Jesus," "He is coming," and similar expressions, I heard resounding on every side of me. The gestures of many persons, in my immediate vicinity, betrayed their intense agitation and excitement. When the preacher had ended, an invitation to go down stairs was given to such as felt inclined to do so.* I did not comply. A friend who went down, described to me the scene as extraordinary, but inexpressibly painful. In the apartment below, he saw persons to the amount of fifty or thereabouts, in different postures and attitudes: some grovelling on their bellies, some kneeling, and some standing; some anxious, some depressed, and some joyful; but all more or less excited, and the majority uttering a great variety of exclamations. Some were labouring under convictions of sin, and some had just obtained deliverance. Individuals were constantly flitting about, ready to aid the parties described in their religious trials and exercises. But enough of this. Profanely in this town, and at the time, those who under the influence of excitement descended into the apartment in question, were said "to go down into the cellar to seek for Jesus." Such scenes, indeed scenes still more extraordinary and revolting are said to be common at "Camp," and "protracted meetings" in the United States of America. To my friend they were new. And the recital of them, so far from provoking feelings of ridicule, painfully affected me. As connected with this locality, I have thought them worth placing upon record.

Like many other instances of overwrought enthusiasm, the system of which I have been speaking tended to wear itself out. In 1841, Hope Street Chapel passed into the hands of the Establishment. On the 21st of March in that year, after having undergone certain necessary alterations, and assumed the name of St. John the Evangelist, it was temporarily licensed for Divine worship in connexion with the Church of England.

The Rev. Richard Cargill, B.A., was, subsequently to this new state of things, its first minister. To him, in 1843, succeeded the late Rev. Thomas MacGill, M.A., nephew of a highly respectable gentleman long resident in this town, and related to the late excellent and devoted Stevenson MacGill, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Mr. MacGill was, if I am not mistaken, son of a gentleman who wrote a very interesting volume of travels on the Shores of the Mediterranean and in the Levant, and who, at a later period of his life, held H.B.M. Commission as

* To those who "were solicitous about the salvation of their souls."

Consul at Malta.* The deceased gentleman, of whom we are speaking, was one of the curates of St. Nicholas' here, during his connexion with this church, and, therefore, only acted personally as Evening Lecturer. The duties of officiating minister were performed, during part of the period in question, by the Rev. J. H. Brown, M.A., and during the remainder of it, by the Rev. Dr. Hume, both at the time holding situations in the Collegiate Institution. The vacancy created by Mr. MacGill's removal to the curacy of Clapham, in the spring of 1846, was filled up by the appointment of the Rev. Henry H. Higgins, M.A., as sole minister.

St. John the Evangelist's, although capacious and comfortable as to the interior, has no particular claims on attention when looked at from the outside. It may be regarded as neat, but certainly it has not an elegant appearance. We may observe, that its surplus funds, if any, are devoted to the support of the Female Orphan Asylum.

With this one, I close my *detailed* notices of the Liverpool Established Churches which have been the subjects of alterations.

As it may be alleged, however, that changes have not been confined to the eleven which I have enumerated, I have thought fit briefly to advert to certain alterations which have been undergone by three others.

1.—*St. Nicholas.*

What this Church was externally eighty or ninety years ago, may be seen by referring to one of the plates in Enfield's History of Liverpool, engraven, as were the others, by Mr. George Perry,† to whom also we are indebted for the Map of the town, which is prefixed to the History.

Smithers, in his History, upon what authority I know not, carries back the foundation of this Church to a very remote period. For full and authentic particulars concerning it, the curious reader must be referred to Moss.‡ Gore's "Annals," Smithers' History, and all our Guide Books, make us acquainted with the facts of the body of the Church having been

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* He is said to have been one of the descendants of the celebrated John Knox.

† For an account of this gentleman, see Smithers' History of Liverpool; and for an account of the share which he had in collecting materials for, and drawing up the history which passes by the name of Enfield's, see the Preface to that work. One of Mr. Perry's sons, having the same name as his father, published a work on Conchology, and was besides a distinguished architect.

‡ Lacey's "Pictorial History," pages 252—255, may likewise, in reference to St. Nicholas, be consulted with advantage. Nor must Baines be overlooked.

re-built in 1774, and of the lamentable loss of life which attended the falling of the spire on the forenoon of Sunday, 11th February, 1810. The real causes of this catastrophe appear to have been, the misjudged economy of the rate-payers of Liverpool, of a former generation, in erecting the spire on the base of the old and worn-out tower, between 1745 and 1750; and the vibration occasioned by continued ringing of the very heavy bells, which were hung in it. The details connected with the building of the spire, as given by Moss, are curious. "By the falling of the spire," says Lacey, "one of the few fine specimens of antiquity in this town was destroyed, being a font which bore a latin inscription." This font will be found described at length in Moss' History.

The present tower surmounted by a lantern was erected in 1815.

Recently the Church has undergone very considerable alterations, and we are justified in saying improvements, in the interior. Are we not indebted for these principally to the taste and knowledge of mediæval antiquities, for which Rector Campbell is distinguished ?*

A handsome Gothic Gateway leads out of the Church-yard into Chapel Street. Very unpleasant and protracted discussions, arising out of a refusal on the part of the Vestry to pay for it, were the result of its erection by one of the Churchwardens, about thirty years ago.

2.—*St. Thomas'*.

Erected in 1750. During a hurricane in 1757, 42 feet of the spire, which according to Lacey rose originally to the height of 420 feet,† were blown down; of which 24 feet were afterwards re-built. In 1780 a thunderbolt struck one of the stones near the top of the steeple, which falling had well nigh killed a person who was passing in the street. In process of time, the spire of St. Thomas' came to be regarded as dangerous. Applications having been made to the proper authorities, it was taken down in 1822. The tower, however, on which it rested, was left standing. Upon this, which was square, a low hexagonal structure was erected, surmounted by a small dome and cross. Lacey considers this dome to have been "clumsy," and

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* Was he not aided in this by Mr. Harmood Banner, lately one of our Churchwardens ?

† A mistake evidently for 240, the original height of the tower and spire, as given in other histories. I must except, indeed, that of Moss, who, p. 140, makes the height of both, from the first, to have been only 216 feet.

the whole, "not to have had a very handsome or graceful appearance." pp. 258, 259. I perfectly concur with him. After the change alluded to, the tower of St. Thomas' had the look of a gigantic pepper-box. This state of things did not long continue. Subsequently to the publication of the "Pictorial Liverpool," about seven or eight years since, the tower of St. Thomas' was razed to the ground, and the present erection, of which it is impossible to speak very complimentarily, was substituted for it. At the same time, the beautiful urns which stood on the top of the side and back walls, and which constituted not the least of the embellishments of this Church, were removed, and on these walls was constructed the parapet which now runs nearly round the building. Disfigured to the eye, as almost all *rifacciamentos* are, the edifice, viewed as a whole, now decidedly is.

What St. Thomas' was before 1769 or 1770, is represented in one of the engravings in "Enfield's History," executed by Perry; and a very good idea of the effect produced by its tall and magnificent spire, may be acquired by examining the view of the Old Dock and Custom-House, which is given in Herdman's "Pictorial Relics."

I cannot part with St. Thomas' without expressing my conviction, that, when entire, it must have been one of the handsomest ecclesiastical buildings in Liverpool. Well might Moss observe, p. 140, "there is an easy, elegant simplicity in the whole external of this Church, from whatever point of view it is seen." Thus he wrote in 1795. Even as I saw it for the first time in 1823, when deprived of its spire, and exhibiting marks of incipient decay, it appeared to me singularly beautiful. Moss will be found to give a very good description of it, pages 140, 141. Mr. Roughsedge was chaplain of St. Thomas' when removed to St. George's, (from which he was soon afterwards elevated to the rectory,) in 1795.

3.—*St. Luke's*

is unquestionably not only the finest modern Gothic structure in Liverpool, but one of the finest in the Kingdom.* From the laying of its foundation stone, April 9, 1811, until it was consecrated and opened, January 12, 1831, a period of nearly twenty years elapsed.† The stones of which it is

* Its architecture is, I admit, in some respects open to criticism.

† Strikingly enough, while the foundation stone of this Church, was laid by James Drinkwater, Esq., Mayor, the Church itself was opened, during the Mayoralty of his Son, Sir George Drinkwater, Knight.

built are of a superior quality, and the workmanship is excellent. Well might the plan and execution of St. Luke's be of no ordinary kind, when we consider that its cost is understood to have exceeded £44,000. See Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 263, where a very interesting description of the building may be met with.

Such of my auditors as have been in the habit of reading "Blackwood's Magazine" for any length of time, may happen to recollect, that in a paper which appeared in that ably conducted periodical, about 20 years' ago, it was suggested, that, in the event of the diocese of Chester being divided, and a new bishopric being called into existence, St. Luke's should be selected as the Cathedral Church.

What has occasioned my notice of St. Luke's here, is that I may have an opportunity of mentioning an alteration which has taken place in the wall by which its churchyard is surrounded. At present it is a low parapet wall, surmounted by a railing, both of elegant appearance, and rising as it were by a succession of steps, in accommodation to the rise of the ground. But in 1823, when little more than the foundation stone of the Church had been laid, a handsome Gothic wall, about six feet in height, which is said to have cost several thousand pounds, environed the premises. This wall stood for some years after the period stated—indeed, if I remember right, until the Church itself was approaching to completion. It was then taken down, to be replaced by that which now meets the eye of the passenger.

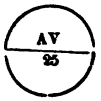
One fact may here be thrown in as if by the way. It is this. With a view to the widening of St. John's Lane, the burial ground of St. John's Church was considerably curtailed of its dimensions about twenty years ago. This fact has suggested to me a question:—Have not proposals been made, in certain quarters, for a similar curtailment of that portion of the grave-yard of St. Paul's, which lies to the east of the church?

II.—Letters relating to Lancashire and Cheshire;—Temp. James I. Charles I., and Charles II.

By Thomas-Dorning Hibbert, of the Middle Temple, Esquire.

The following letters are only specimens of a number which I discovered among a mass of old papers in a garret in Rivington Hall, while I was spending a few days with my kinsman, Robert Andrews, esquire. They are now in my possession, and if the Society think the present letters of sufficient interest, I may be induced to lay before them others of equal interest. I shall commence with the letter of Richard Speakman to his master, Richard Hilton, or as it was often written, Hulton, so that I may be able to give the *genealogy* of the MSS. Richard Hilton was a wealthy yeoman and fustian manufacturer, who resided at West Leigh in this County; his only daughter and heiress "Mistress Abigaill," became the wife of Thomas Crook of Abram, alias Aburgham, near Wigan, gentleman, by whom she had issue, with several daughters, an only surviving son, Richard Crook of that place and Macclesfield, esquire. He married Martha, one of the daughters of John Hollinshead of Macclesfield, gentleman, by Joan his wife, daughter of Thomas Mottershead, whose family were connected with the Batemans, both being old Macclesfield families; he died without issue, leaving his sisters his co-heiresses. One of them, Abigail, married Mr. John Andrews of Rivington and Bolton, attorney at law, the brother of the present Robert Andrews' great grandfather. Thus the papers of Hollinshead Mottershead and Bateman, became mixed with the Hilton and Crook papers. On the extinction of the issue of John and Abigail Andrews, they came into the possession of the father of the present Esquire of Rivington. Margaret, the wife of John Percival of Liverpool and Allerton, merchant, was another sister and co-heiress of Richard Crook. Mr. Thomas Heywood in his account of the Percivals, in vol. I. of the Society's Proceedings and Papers, page 65, has fallen into the same error as Gregson, calling her Margaret *Cook*. Another daughter and co-heir married Thomas Yate of Whitchurch, Salop, from whom descends John-Yate Lee, esquire, of the Bankruptcy Court in Liverpool. More accurate genealogical information of the Crooks, I must defer to another occasion. Mr. Thomas Valentine whose name occurs, was also in the Bolton trade, and was probably one of the Valentines of Bentcliffe in the Parish of Eccles, in the County of

Lancaster. Mr. Gillibrand was the Reverend Jonathan Gillibrand, who had been appointed on the 31st of the previous July, vicar of West Leigh, in place of the Rev. Bradley Hayhurst, one of the ejected ministers mentioned. Mr. Gillibrand died in 1685. Calamy says Mr. Hayhurst afterwards conformed.

Post mark 

ffor M^r. Richard Hilton
att Blossome Inn
in Lawrance Lane
in London

22 Aug (16)62

Most affectionate M^r

After my servise to you premissed not fforgettinge my homage to my best dame and to mris Abigaill I rec^d your letter of y^e 19 Instant am sory that you have such ill markets for ffustiens as ffor y^e waginer Heapy I have paid him 19^s but noe more soe that you may pay his porter Forth if you please. I have waighed one packe (of) yorne and it weigheth 230^li pond sixscore pond to hundrath I pray you order m^r. Thomas Valentine to pay A bill of 20^£ & I shall charge y^e bill upon him ffor I presume you will bee comne out of y^e city before y^e bill come up ffor I have had five pounds of mris Cason of Warrington & am to have some more & to give her husband a bill att his returne out of y^e north which wilbee y^e next weeke I suposse or else to repay her 5^li pond againe & soe must take up some 20^li I am sore necessitated for I have borrowed 4^li Allready. M^r. Gillibrand is still Amongst us instead of A minister & like to be for y^e p^rsent ffor y^e bussines is not yet ended tho y^e bishope hath had a hearringe of itt & promisseth faire to y^e parish but y^t is All att prsent. our non conformist ministers preach thir last or farewell sermons this weeke.

I rest your servant

Rich. Spakeman.

I shall tell Rich Ranicars as you Writt & shall gett y^e wheat to Weys-leigh so sonne as dry but we have continual wett weather y^e lord ceasse itt for itt treatens sore.

[P.S. on the margin.]

The bird & little dove doe very well—not ells but desyre you^r good health & saf Arivall att home in Lancasherre

The next document is a short note from Peter Egerton of the Shaw Hall, in the parish of Flixton, esquire, to the same worthy yeoman, and one Roger Bayley, (of whom nothing is known,) but not of so pleasant a nature. We are placed at once in the days when only force was known, and when

rents were as difficult to collect as they now are in the sister island. Colonel Egerton was at the time besieging Lathom House. "My cosen Holcroft," was probably Colonel Holcroft of Holcroft, who was also at that siege. Four days before the date of this note, namely, upon the 20th of March, cannon had been brought to play upon the walls of the house with some little success, and Lady Derby had refused to surrender, though her Lord who was then in Chester, had sent a letter through Sir Thomas Fairfax, desiring an honorable and free passage for the Countess and her children. Probably this determination of her Ladyship was the cause of Colonel Holcroft's journey to town.

Colonel Egerton served the office of Sheriff for Lancashire in 1641, was deputy Lieutenant in 1642, a Colonel under Faixfax, and a General in the Parliamentary Army. He took an active part in the sieges of Manchester and Bolton; and on the 1st of April, 1643, he was appointed one of the Committee of Sequestration. He was the grandson of Peter Egerton, (a younger son of Rafe Egerton of Ridley, County of Chester,) by Alice his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Leonard Asshaw, of the Shaw, esquire, who brought that estate into the Egerton family. The great Chancellor Egerton was half brother, on the wrong side, of Rafe Egerton, the latter being the son and heir of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, the former his reputed son by Alice Sparke.

ffor Richard Hulton &
Roger Bayley at Legh
these

I was intreated by my cosen Holcrofte before his goeinge to London, to call unto you for yo^{r} rent (w^{ch} at this time is) due unto him, and w^{ch}all he made me p'mis (that if yo^{u} payde it not to me upon the day) that I shoulde sende a troope of horse for the collectinge of it. Nowe I thought fitt to let yo^{u} understand, that if you bringe it to Warrington on thursday next, I shall be ready to receiue it, and to giue you a discharge for it, but if yo^{u} fayle that time, I must doe accordinge to my p.mis w^{ch} is not desired by me, but to remaine

yo^{r} louvinge frende
Peter Egerton.

Ormeskirke March 24th
1644

We now have a short note from the celebrated Sir William Brereton of Hanford, County of Chester, Baronet, who was commander of the Parliamentary Forces in Cheshire, with his own cousin, once removed, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Dukinfield. He was the son of William Brereton of Hanford,

esquire, by Margery, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Richard Holland of Denton; and Colonel Dukinfield was the son of Robert Dukinfield, of Dukinfield, esquire, by Frances his wife, daughter of George Preston of Holker in Cartmel, esquire. Robert, was the son and heir of Robert Dukinfield of Dukinfield, esquire, by Jane, the eldest of his five daughters and co-heiresses. Colonel Holland was also a cousin, the estate of Denton having fallen to him in consequence of the elder line having ended, as just mentioned, in co-heiresses. I give these particulars to shew how nearly allied in blood the principal movers on the side of the Parliament were to each other.

Mr. Mottershead as I have said was of an old Macclesfield family, who some time after the date of this note drew down the wrath of the Heralds' College, for having used the Arms of Mottram, (to which they were not entitled,) at the funeral of one Samuel Mottershead, in 1691, as appears by a very curious letter among the Harl MSS. addressed to one of the Randal Holmes, by his sister and co-heiress Joan Hollinshead, requesting him to help her out of the scrape. She shows a wholesome fear of the Earl Marshal's authority to fine for the usurpation of arms. I have among my papers a large number of letters addressed to the Mottershead family, from which I learn that they were largely engaged in the silk button trade. They also acted as bankers, which is proved by finding among their papers a receipt from president Bradshaw, dated 5th November, 1629, when he was a student of Gray's Inn, for money which his friends had paid into Mottershead's hands in Macclesfield, which sum they ordered their correspondent Mr. Kendall of Bread street, to pay to Bradshaw.

The forest alluded to is Macclesfield, of which Sir William was Forester.

For M^{r} —— Mottershed at
Macclesfield

M^{r} Mottershed

I haue sent these lynes to desire you to hasten the gatheringe in of the Midsomer rents due in and about the fforreste to be ready ag^{t} the middle of this Month. Haveinge Confidence of your Care herein and that you have already made some progresse, I shall not need to enlarge, but shall remaine

yo^{r} verie Loveing Friend

Julie 2 1649 Will Brereton

The next document is a letter from John Ashton, who appears to have been one of the Ashtons of Ashton, in the fee of Mackerfield, a respectable family, with doubtful pretentions to Coat Armour. Mr. Sorocold, to whom

it is addressed, was one of the Sorocolds of Barton, a family of lesser gentry who entered their pedigree at Dugdale's visitation in 1664–5, when the arms which they claimed were respited. The letter relates to the death of his brother John Sorocold, one of the gentlemen of the guards, being in Colonel Scrmipshire's squadron. Formerly the guards were composed entirely of young men of family: even now I am told that the first guards are always addressed as "gentlemen of the guards."

The Sorocold family were connected with the Hiltons. I have a number of letters from Sir Peter Legh of Lyme, to his "baliffe" James Sorocould of Haydock.

Mr. Bradshaw was one of the Bradshaws of Darcy Lever, an old Presbyterian family, who appear also in Dugdale's Visitation. I have several letters from him relating to the death of Mr. Sorocold, and from Mr. Mullinux, and one from Mr. Sorocold written a few days before his death. "The bills inclosed" I give at the foot of the letter, from the originals in my possession; they are curious as they shew the expense of keeping a horse at livery in 1662. Lord Gerrard was probably Lord Gerrard of Brandon, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield; there were at this time two baronies of Gerrard existing.

ffor M^{r} James Sorocold att
his howse att the Eye bridge
in Ashton neere Wigan
these
Leaue these att Ellen Ashton's
house in Ashton to be delived
as above with care
in
Lancashire

honrd Sir

I rec^{d} yo^{r} Le^{r} directed to M^{r} Chaddock & another from yo^{r} brother Laund^{rs} which I opened according to M^{r} Laund^{rs} direccon M^{r} Chaddock being gone for Yorkshire & soe for Lancashire. I requested M^{r} W^{m} Blundell to Answer them for me my occasions being that post soe urgent y^{t} I could not wth conveniency. S^{r} in order to yo^{r} request I haue beene wth M^{r} George Greene the onely man y^{t} was ingaged on yo^{r} brothers behalfe in y^{e} quarrell & he informs me y^{e} manner of it to be thus. On Sunday the 28th of Aprill last at night M^{r} Sorocold & M^{r} Greene going towards their Lodgings were iostled from y^{e} wall by a company of butchers & a poulterer w^{ch} caused words on both sides insomuch y^{t} yo^{r} brother struck one of them & then all y^{e} rest engaged & struck them sorely but nothing appeared outwardly on yo^{r} brother, they were much in drinke both

of them & it is to be doubted that cheefely a Surfett occasioned his favo' which he gott in M^r^ Greens company, but truly I thinke y^t^ neither the Surfett alone nor y^e^ bruses alone would have occasioned his death but both meeting carryed him away; he neuer complained of his bruses in y^e^ tyme of his sicknesse neither did y^e^ docto^r^ know it till aboute 2 or 3 dayes before his death w^ch^ he discerned by his spitting of blood. on Munday after yo^r^ brothers death I desired M^r^ Molineux & M^r^ Bradshaw y^t^ yo^r^ brother might have beene vewed by y^e^ Crowner,& y^e^ poulterer apprehended, but they being doubtfull y^t^ you would not p.secute & y^e^ tyme being short y^t^ we intended to bury him & he swelling soe much then occasioned their dislike of it. S^r^ I think it will not availe anything to p.secute now for y^e^ body must be taken up againe & vewed & we shall be fined for burying him unvewed. S^r^ I desired Colonall Ashby to go along w^th^ me to the Lord Gerard that we might make sale of his horse & to receive what pay was due to him att his death, he was very high att first & said y^e^ horse was his being a mustered horse & for his pay y^t^ none was due to him he being dead, but afterwards I applying my selfe to Col Scrmipshire who hath the comand of y^t^ Squadron yo^r^ brother was in und^r^ S^r^ Tho Sands, he prevailed w^th^ my Lord for both, y^e^ horse I sold before M^r^ Molineux came downe but what was Due for his meat was paid before they would p^t^ with him I discharged these two bills here inclosed & have 3^li^ 12^s^ 6^d^ being y^e^ remainder in my hands to be disposed on according to yo^r^ direccons I have beene above 20 tymes to receive his pay but am still delayed untill y^e^ next muster, there is in one Robins hands a Taylo^r^ in Cursitor's Alley six yards of Cloth w^ch^ was intended for a sute and Cote for him (the Cloth is oweing for to M^r^ Cropp and I have promissed to see him paid) this Robins in the y^e^ tyme of yo^r^ brothers sicknesse (contrary to his order) cut out the Cloth & soe it lyeth in his hands unfinished he is a very D^l^ & what to doe with him I know not he expecteth to be paid for all y^e^ materialls he hath bought for the sute & Cote, I desire you to signifie yo^r^ pleasure what yo^u^ will haue done with it, As for Ned yo^r^ brothers man I admire with what confidence he can request anything from yo^u^ his m^r^ haueing given him soe much in his lifetyme for soe little service, in y^e^ time of yo^r^ brothers sicknesse he made bold to take yo^r^ brothers horse & sword & ride him out & y^e^ sword & belt he lost in a quarrell so y^t^ yo^r^ brother hath neither sword nor belt nor pistolls but a girdle & hangers to weare a sword in. I desire you not to signifie to Ned who acquainted yo^u^ w^th^ this but to let him know you know of it S^r^ if Boydell was in Towne this weeke I must crave yo^r^ p.don for not sending downe y^e^ things by him for I was out of Towne & came but this night to Towne. W^m^ Houghton hath p.missed me to prayse them & inventory them according to yo^r^ direccons if he come not till y^e^ next weeke I intend then to send them. S^r^ if in any thing I can be serviceable to yo^u^ I will studdy to manifest my selfe to be

yo^r^ faithfull freind
to serve yo^u^

June 22^th^ 1661. Jo Ashton.

The following are the two bills alluded to, which were enclosed in the foregoing letter.

A Bill for M[r] John Sorocold his horse for Oats and Hay from the 27[th] March untill 19[th] May 1661 at the Bare and Ragged Staffe in y[e] Strand.

	£	s	d
Imp[s] for fifty two nights of hay ...	02	3	4
for fifty two nights of oats...	02	3	4
for a hundred and four pen. [nyworth] of beans	00	8	8
the sum)	04	15	4

ffor 7 nights hay	00	05	010
ffor 7 peckes of oats	00	05	010
ffor beanes	00	01	08
ffor braun	00	00	04
ffor grinding	00	00	06
	0	14	2

given to Will[m] Caton..... 1	0	1	6
the Und[r] Ostler for a bridle. 06			
allowed M[r] Taylor		10	0

The farriers bill from the 5[th] April to the 8[th] May 1561.

April 5[th]	for a drinke for one gray horse	2	0
5	for a spunge at head for the gray horse	1	0
	for one wash for the gray horse	1	0
	for balls at severall times	5	0
13	for 2 shoues 2 remoues of the gray horse	1	4
8	for nailing the gray horse		2
	for 4 shoues of the gray gilding	2	0
	for drissing the gray gilding of a Treatt.....	2	0
	for drissing the gray gilding of a cannayll nayl	2	0
	sum is	16	6

The two next and last letters of this series are from the Rev. William Bateman, who appears to have been educated at Oxford. The first letter is written from Ludgars-hall, a parish which lies in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks. The one next in order is written to his father on the death of his mother, and contains strong confimation of Mr. Macaulay's controverted statement, that the country Clergy occupied a very humble position in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. No Clergyman could now be found who would think of sending his sister to an Inn to learn household matters. Mr.

Brownsword was master of the Macclesfield Grammar School; a man of note in his day. See Ormerod's Cheshire.

To his Louinge father
Ihon Batemanne alderman
at Maxfelde theise in hast.

Grace mercie and peace from God the father & from our Lorde Jesus Christ be multiplied.

Welbeloved father I most humblie commende me unto you my brother Thomas my sister Ann my Old Master Mr. Brownsw'd w^th^ all oth^r^ my kinsfolkes & friendes having conceived soe great griefe by the death of my mother and yeat daylie increaseth that I am out of doubt I cannot writ unto you at this time as I would but thear is noe remedie but God must neades be served As I am informed shea made a quiet end I trust shea died the servant of God. of this thus much My sister Katren is placed in a verie good house in Bissiter [Bicester] wher shea shall learne to doe all manner of thinges that belonge to a good huswyfe it is a vitailinge house greatlie occupied shea shall not learne onelie to dresse meate and drinke excellent well, but allso bruinge bakinge winnowinge, with all other thinges theirunto appertaininge for they are verie rich folkes and verie sharpe and quicke both of them The cause why my Ant received her not as shea answered us was because all this winter shea intendeth to have but one servant woman & shea thought my sister was not able to doe all her worke because shea imagined her to be verie raw in theire countrey worke w^ch^ thinge trewlie shea that hath her now did thinke and theirefore her wage is the slenderer but xvjs [16s.] w^ch^ in this place is counted nothinge in effecte for such a strong woman as shea is, but I bringinge her to Bissiter uppon Wednesday beinng Michaelmas even told her dame the wage was verie small and said I trusted shea would mend it if shea proved a good girle as I had good hope shea would, quoth I it will scarce bye her hose & shooes nay saith shea I will warrant her have so much given her before the yeare be expyred and by Gods helpe that w^ch^ wants I my selfe will fill upp as much as I am able. But certainelie myne Uncle & Ant both thought verie great discurtestie in you that you sent them not a letter nor that my brother Thomas beinge soe neare would not come unto them & I mad excuses & said he coulde not in no wyse because of his busines & meetinge the carrier in dew tyme yeas saith mine Uncle he might have set forth a day or two sooner and bestowed some time with his Ant w^ch^ he never saw, but whether theise weare the causes or whether when my mother was dead they did not regard us soe much as they did before I know not but most certaine it was at that time they would not receive her doe I what I coulde but myne Ant saide when shea knew the fashions of the countrey then shea would take her You weare verie quicke in sendinge of her upp unlesse my letter had signified otherwaies unto you then I am sure it did for I desired you to send me worde whether shea wouldc come or not for as shea hath shewed me since her cominge if my mother had lived shea

would not have come. I am crediblie informed that theare are some woulde verie faine have you to marie againe but if you doe I beseeche you for God's cause have a respecte unto your children & unlesse it weare to your great losse I would request you to stay untill sommer next comminge till you & I talke together face to face. Surelie unlesse you keep house yourselfe I would verie gladlie wish you to dwell with my brother who tould me you should be verie well used & in my iudgment that weare the most credit for us all if it weare possible to be soe. Thus I end committinge you unto the Lorde who ever keepe you & request you earnestlie not to forget the p.misses. Ludgarsall the xxixth of September.

yo^{r} Lovinge sonne in what he is able
to pleasure you — William Batemanne.

The last of this series is addressed to his brother Thomas Bateman, who was in trade in Macclesfield, probably a mercer. It is dated Stretton Awdley, a village in Oxfordshire, about fourteen miles from the University, a place well known to sportsmen of the present day. The writer had to go to Oxford to keep his Act and at the same time to post his letter, there being no nearer post town. The directions to his brother to "come a clean man unto him," may seem strange to modern ears, when every good private house has its bath; but in King James' time ablutions were little practised, hence skin diseases of a most virulent class arose. Beds were articles of great value, almost every gentleman's will contained a bequest of his best bed, which like the bed of Ware, generally held more than one individual.

To his Lovinge brother
Thomas Bateman at
Maxfielde in Cheshire
theise in all hast

Loving brother after my most harty commendacones unto you & my sister Ann your wyfe prayinge God to blesse us all both now & ev^{r} &c. If it be not much discommodious unto you I would have you to be wth me a fortnight before Michaelmas next bringing wth you my bill; you havinge received a good summe of monie of me allreadie, and now being to receive a good somme againe: I trust undoubtedlie that you are well able so to order the matter that you will come unto me in a handsome and comelie suite of apparrell because I would have you to rest you well after yo^{r} iorney and so sometimes shall have occasion to goe abroade: you may take that course that you may come upp wth the carriers that carrie linnen cloath for companie is comfortable and will make the way to seeme shorter unto you *Come a cleane man unto me* that I may boldlie entertain you to bee my bedfellow w^{h}out anie dread: I hope you have not forgot the same matter in my last wrytinge. I am constranid to goe to the Act to Oxford to convey this letter unto you. I pray you forget not my most hearty commendacones unto my cosen John Blagg & his wyfe & the rest of my cosins and good freinds giving him

thanks in my name for all his kindnesses towards mee. Thus wth my commendaconns I commit you to the p.tection of Thalmightie desyring God that you may grow & increase in spirituall & temporall blessings. Stretton Awdl: 1607. Julie xiijth

yo^{r} Loving brother

William Bateman.

[The seal a wafer with WB thereon.]

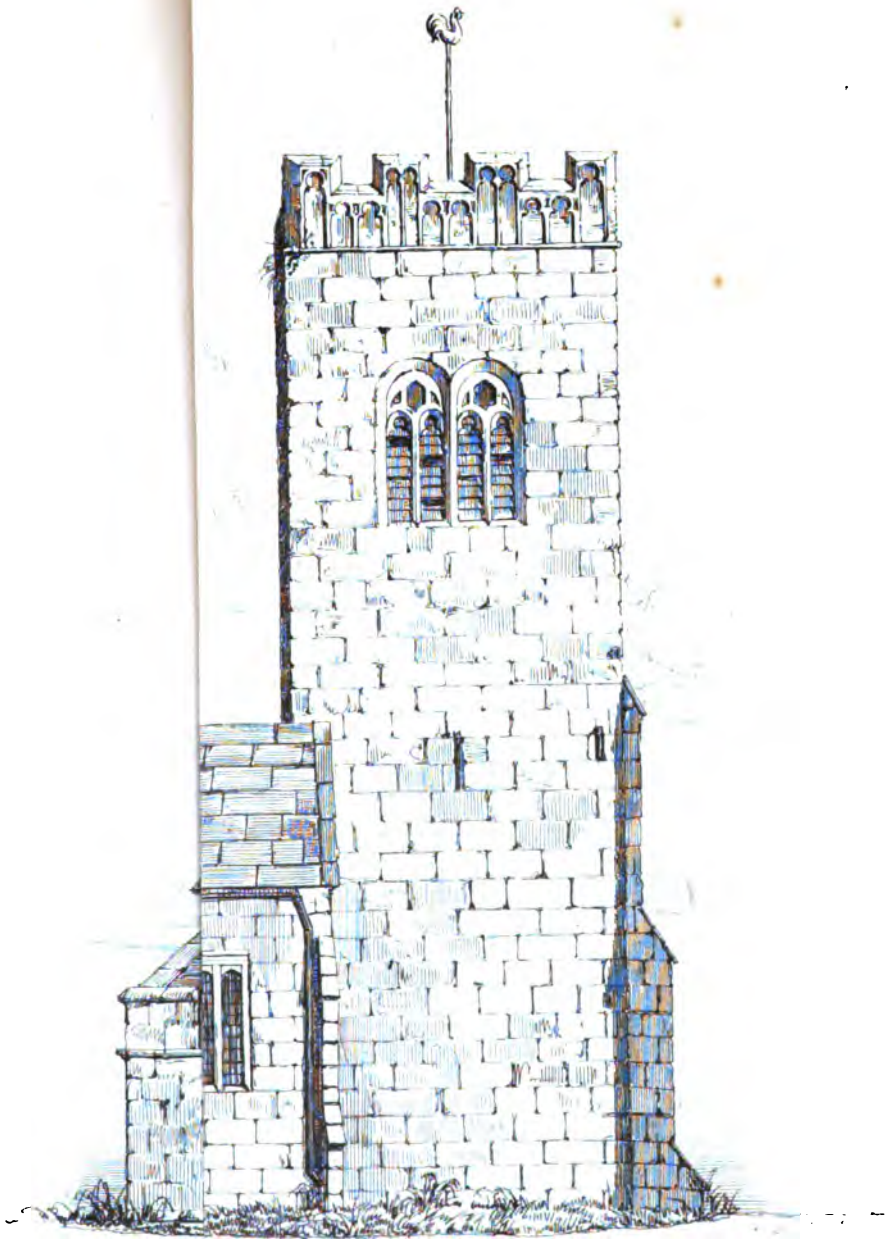
III.—Notes on the Church of West Kirby, Cheshire.

By James Middleton, Esq.

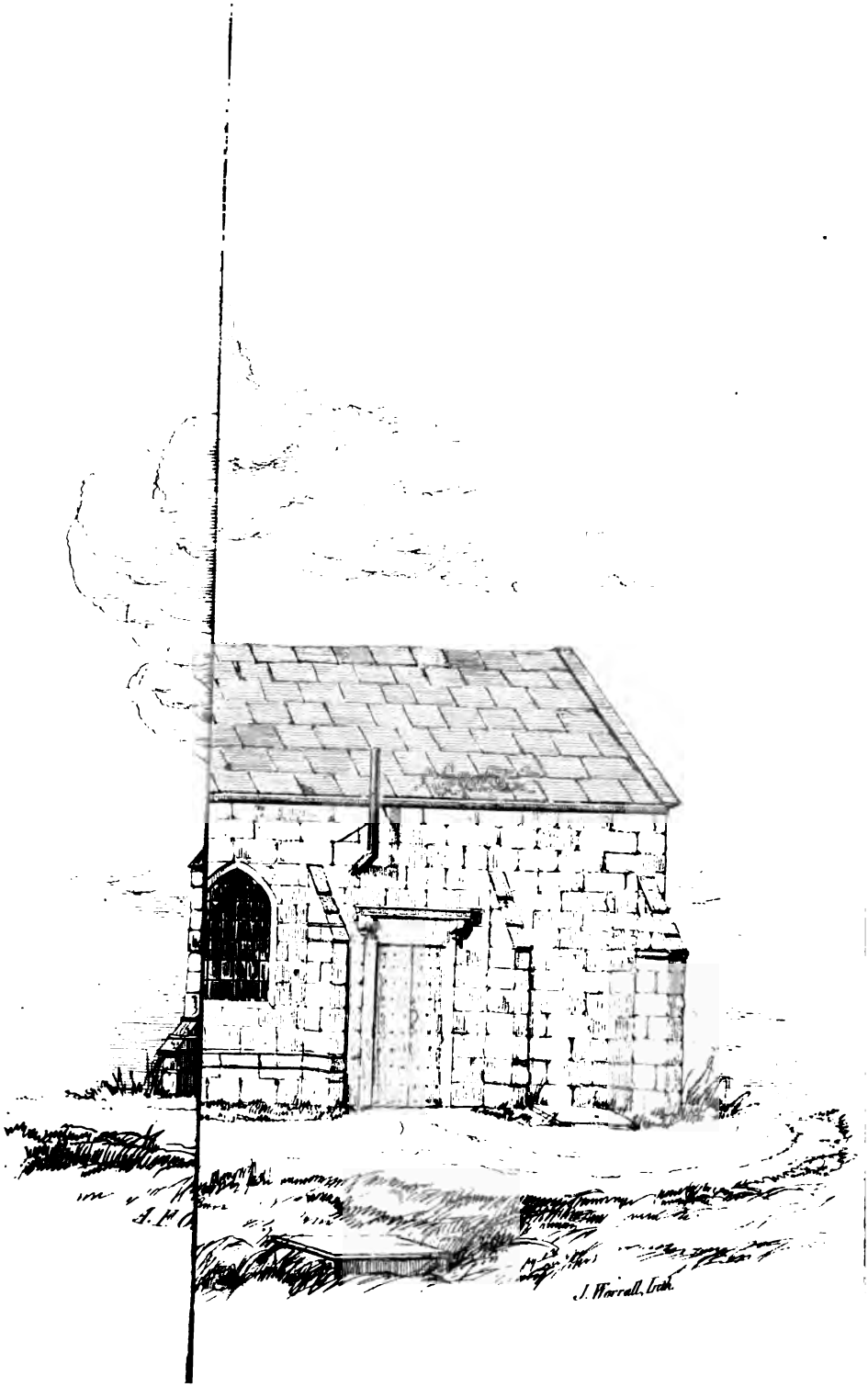
The body of the present Church of West Kirby offers the curious anomaly of the ridge plate joining the north-eastern angle of the tower, the eastern face of which bears the trace of the gable of the nave having been at some former period attached centrically as usual. The chancel is lighted by two windows of unequal size and dissimilar style, that on the south resembling the first perpendicular, that on the north the Tudor. Both are of four lights, and the mullions of fine dressed free stone, with weather mouldings of the same description. The chancel is correctly figured in the annexed plate. The north side of the nave is pierced at irregular intervals with four flat-headed windows, three of three lights, and one, (that nearest to the tower,) of four; on the south a like disposition is observable, the form assimilating to the adjoining chancel window. The tower is certainly of much older date than any part of the nave or chancel at present existing. The moulding of the battlement is in very good taste, and the coupled belfry lights are fair in design and execution. There is little within the building to call for remark: a walled-up piscina and two sedilia in a like state of preservation are on the south side of the chancel, within the altar rails. Of memorials of the dead, the only record worthy of notice is inscribed on a slab inserted in the southern wall, and commemorates the decease of a certain Joannes Vanzoelen, who appears to have followed the drums of Duke Schomberg to the royal encampment in the neighbouring Leasowes, and finished his campaign beside the Dee instead of the storied Boyne.

But one more feature remains for notice, and that is the doorway in the western face of the tower, the flat moulding of which is bold, of good workmanship, and the architrave charged with shields and ornaments; but the bearings on the former are too indistinct to warrant their appropriation to any of the families either formerly or at present possessors of the adjacent lands.

In the existing Church of West Kirby there does not appear to be any portion remaining of very high antiquity; no portion, at least, above ground of that edifice which, together with the oratory on the islet of



J. Worrall lith.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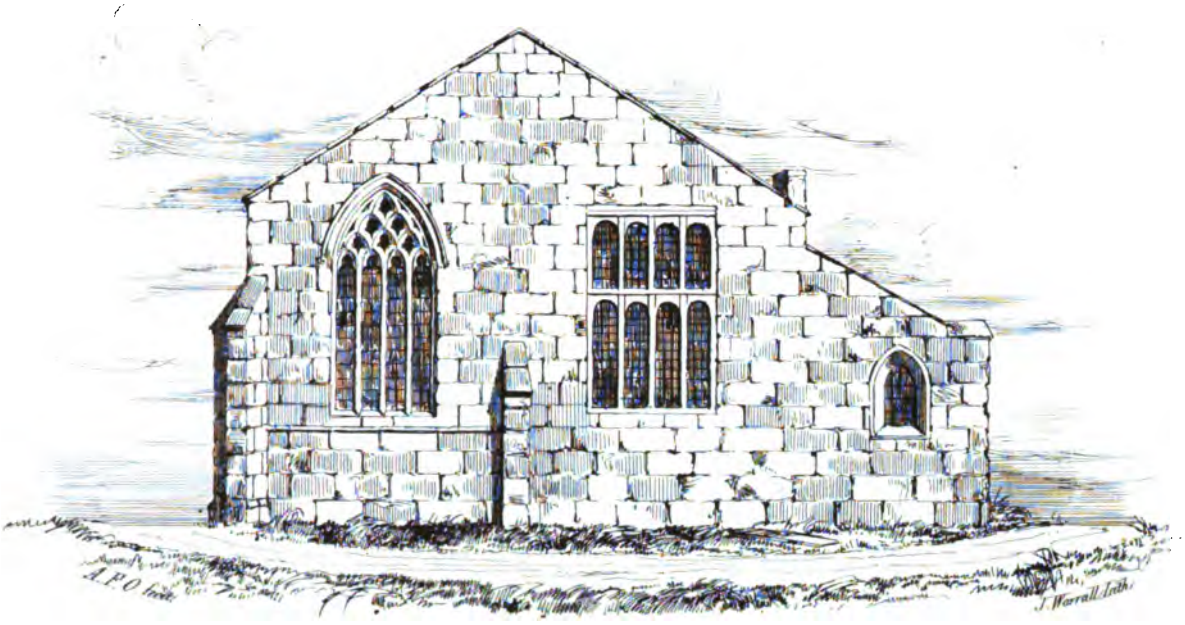

WEST KIRBY CHURCH,
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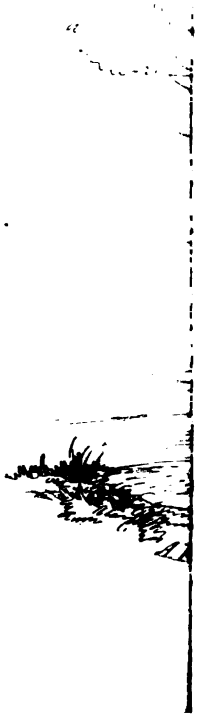

Hilbre, was assigned by the dependent of Hugh, Earl of Chester, to the monastery of St. Evroul in his native Normandy, and which donation was duly ratified and approved by William I. in the year 1088. The good fathers to whom the gift in question was made, do not appear to have valued it very highly; for after a brief tenure we find church and oratory, as well as another sacred building—the Church of St. Peter in Chester—disposed of to the community of St. Werburg in that ancient city. With that community, and its representatives—the Dean and Chapter of Chester—the right of presentation has remained to the present day.

The Monastery of St. Werburg, it may be remembered, was constituted a Cathedral when Henry VIII. erected the see of Chester; and the dignitaries in general appoint one of their own body as rector of this parish. The Rev. Canon Slade is the present incumbent, and the Rev. W. Armitstead the excellent and much-respected curate.

To an Archæologist, the foregoing notice of the Church of St. Bridget, it is to be feared, must to a certain extent be as unsatisfactory as it is meagre. Of its foundation there exists no record. Nox alta premit. Of the various mutations which the fabric has undergone we know but little,—a suppressed aisle and an enlarged nave are the extent of our information.

Built in a secluded spot, and sheltering within its holy walls a rustic race, the labourer of the glebe and the plougher of the sea have in their generations worshipped, toiled and passed away, and left no sign. Even those great ones of the earth, the potential in vestry, the dread of the vagrant, the wretched and the poor, the "C. W.'s of this parish" have flourished and decayed, and have left to a bewildered posterity no chronicle of their several exertions in the alterations and adornment of the fabric committed to their charge. Excepted always, one memorial punched in the tail of the vibratory chanticleer doing duty as a vane, which for a hundred and odd years has let inquisitive gazers into the important secret of which way the wind blew, and ventilated the honoured initials of the governing functionaries, who thought not there was anything "Ære perennius"—their device "Sic itur ad auras."

The Parish Church is as said dedicated to St Bridget; the living a Rectory, valued according to the Valor Beneficiorum at £28 13s. 4d.

I think it well to state, that the drawings from which the accompanying plates are taken, are the work of my young relative, Mr. A. F. Oridge, at present on the staff of the Borough Engineer of Liverpool.

When the last paper had been read, and before the meeting adjourned to the Egyptian Museum, a special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Mayer, for his kindness in affording such an intellectual treat to the meeting. The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the Meeting, as usual, to the Donors, Exhibitors, and Authors of papers.

APPENDIX.

FIRST DAY MEETING.

[In accordance with the resolution p. 5, the Council determined to hold two day meetings during the Session, the first of which was to present no new matter, but to consist of summaries and recapitulations. It was accordingly held on Thursday, April 15th, in the theatre of the Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, at half-past one p.m.]

Major-General the Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST, K.C.H., Vice-President, was in the Chair.

Circulars had been sent to the Council and Officers of similar societies in the town, many of whom were, therefore, in attendance. There were also several members present from distant parts of the country, and ladies.

The Museum of the Royal Institution was open to members and visitors, both before and after the meeting; and the Honorary Curator had arranged round the platform, a temporary Museum of Antiquities. Mr. Mayer had also invited the Society and visitors, to a private view of his own Egyptian Museum, Colquitt Street, which was still only in preparation, and not to be opened to the public for some weeks.

The minutes of the last Ordinary Meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Mr. James Boardman, of Aigburth, respecting the autograph of Lord Nelson, which had been exhibited at the meeting of the 1st of April. See pp. 98 and 100.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited two golden torques from Lincolnshire, one of which displayed great artistic skill and beauty. The other was lighter in weight, and of a commoner pattern.

Dr. Kendrick also exhibited two chessmen of jet, found in the Mote Hill, Warrington; but that he might not detain the meeting by a description of them, a printed account was distributed, accompanied by a lithographed representation. The following is an extract from the former:—"As it is scarcely possible to imagine a figure more simple and primitive than the smaller piece, we may safely term it *Pawn*, the piece of least value. The larger one I look upon as a *Knight*; but if we except the two small circles on the upper and fore part, which may have been intended for eyes, and some distant resemblance in the whole figure to the arching neck of a horse, we are left to form our judgment rather from the negative characters which it exhibits, when compared with the other pieces of the game, than from any distinguishing points. Mr. Albert Way, moreover, to whom a drawing was sent, in a letter replete with valuable information on the subject, conjectures that it may be a *Queen* (or King?) *de telle aplatie* of Mr. Pottier of Rouen."

Dr. Hume exhibited a pedigree of the ancient Kings of Scotland, and drew particular attention to the descent of Macbeth. From this it appeared that the claims of descent on his part were equal to those of Duncan; while those of courage, capacity, alliance, and influence with the Norwegian settlers in the country, gave him superior claims. Thus the hero of true history is very far different from the murderer of popular romance.

The principal antiquities in the room were briefly explained; they were in general from the Society's own collection.

The following PAPERS were read.

I.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY'S OPERATIONS.

By the Rev. Thomas Moore, A.M., Honorary Secretary.

This was a statement of facts respecting the Society, chiefly intended for visitors. It was an extension of the Analysis given in the last Paper of volume iii., and was continued to the time of the meeting.

II.—An Account of Warrington Siege, A.D. 1643.

By James Kendrick, M.D.

This was an abridgment of the paper which is given entire at p. 18. It was intended as an interesting specimen of the communications made to the Society.

Several other papers were in readiness, but the reading of them was postponed. Shortly after three o'clock, the meeting adjourned to the Egyptian Museum.

MEETING AT WARRINGTON.

In accordance with the Resolution, p. 100, certain Members of the Society and others, met at Warrington, on Friday, the 7th of May. The object was to explore the antiquities in the town and neighbourhood; and secondarily, to cultivate those friendly relations which are at once becoming and useful, especially to persons engaged in a common pursuit. A brief account of the Proceedings is given here, because the Historic Society was the only one that had been invited as a whole, and therefore, that was formally present. Deputations consisting of the Officers and certain Members of Council were present from several other Societies, viz., the Natural History Society, Warrington; the Chetham Society, Manchester; the Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; the Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool; the Architectural and Archæological Society, Liverpool; the Architectural Archæological and Historic Society, Chester.

From half-past nine, the gentlemen who had intimated their intention to be present began to arrive, and were received in the Museum by the Mayor, the Rector, and the Honorary Curators for the various departments of the Museum. They were then conducted through the town, and visited the objects of greatest interest connected with its past history.

On arriving at the church, the Hon. and Rev. H. Powys, the Rector, conducted the party through the various portions, noticing particularly the ancient crypt, that having formerly served for a sacristy, is now a vestry. After concluding the examination of it, their attention was drawn to a beautiful maypole, which had been presented by the rector a few days before, and round which, in all the pride of its elegant decorations, 2,000 people of all classes had experienced much innocent enjoyment on the 1st. After visiting the sacred well, in the neighbourhood, the company returned to the Museum, to prepare for the first excursion.

At twelve o'clock, carriages were in readiness, provided by the committee at Warrington, by which the whole party proceeded southwards to Stretton, to visit the Roman road recently discovered there. Beautiful sections of it had been laid open for the occasion by Thomas Lyon, Esq., of Appleton Hall; and further discoveries on the line had been made, in a field adjoining the Stretton parsonage, by the Rev. Richard Greenall. The whole facts were explained by Mr. Robson, of Warrington. For some of the facts, see Proceedings and Papers, ii. 27.

At two o'clock, about sixty gentlemen sat down to an excellent collation in the Lion Hotel, the Mayor of Warrington in the chair.

At half-past three, the carriages were again in readiness for an excursion northward, to visit the Castle Hill, at Newton, the Roman road at Haydock, and Winwick Church; some of the party who were most pressed for time, taking leave at Newton, for Liverpool or Manchester.

Precisely at seven o'clock, the town clerk, J. F. Marsh, Esq., began to receive the company at his own house at a conversazioné, and, by a little after eight, those who remained, together with the clergy and gentry of the town and neighbourhood, had all arrived. Mr. Marsh received them in his magnificent library, which runs the whole length of Fairfield House, and is said to be "the pride of Warrington, and the envy of the neighbouring districts." In the course of the evening, the following Paper was read.

Historical and Antiquarian Notes on Warrington and its Neighbourhood.

By John Robson, Esq.

The object of the present communication, will be to combine as well as I can, the evidence from historical records, local traditions, and existing remains, so that each may throw light upon the other, and afford something like a continuous history of the district you have passed through this afternoon.

The earliest remains we have to notice are the Tumuli, of which we have two marked on the Ordnance Map, to the east, and a little to the north of Winwick Church. The further one has been opened, but nothing was found; the other is not correctly represented in the map, where it appears as if the lane went over it, but, in fact, the highest point is in the field, and it seems to have had two offshoots, one from its north-east side, which has apparently run across the lane, and been cut through, the other to the north-west. The centre Tumulus is from thirty to forty yards in circumference, and about eight feet above the level of the lane; it is most likely sepulchral. Castle Hill, in Newton, is probably of a later date, and I shall refer to it hereafter. Another, marked "Mound" on the Ordnance Map, is on the south-west side of Newton Common, it is on the highest bank of the valley of St. Helens' Brook, more extensive than, though not so striking as the Castle Hill, and called Windmill Hill by the country people. A windmill no doubt, has stood upon it; but such was not the original purpose for which it was thrown up; and in the absence of evidence of any sort, conjecture would be useless.

Two instruments, apparently also of this period, have been found in the district, or very near it; one, (a double-headed chisel—shall I call it?) was found in Orford, near the boundary of Winwick parish. It is formed of flint, and intended to cut with, but how it has been used, is not so easily understood, as there is no space or accommodation for a handle. It was found in the clay while making a drain. The other has been supposed to be a war club, and a formidable weapon it must have been at close quarters. It is formed of clink stone, is about 17½ inches in length, and 8 or 9 inches in circumference at the centre, tapering a little towards the ends. It weighs 6½ pounds, and was found on the left of the highway to Newton, on New Hey Farm, and not far from the track of the Roman Road you have examined to-day.

There is another unappropriated relic found at Haydock; a piece of coarse freestone has been rounded, and a hole drilled through it, the edges of the opening on both sides being bevelled off towards the centre. It was found some feet below the surface, when opening a new coalpit belonging to Messrs. Evans. Stones something like this, are used by rude nations to keep the threads steady in weaving, or it might be used to sink a net with. Perhaps we are too much in the habit of taking for granted, that instruments like these were always used as instruments of destruction or war. The stone club would answer every purpose of a modern mallet.

The next object in chronological order is the Roman Road, and though here we are at no loss for its origin or the time of its construction, there are several points of interest,

and some that may be profitable in more extensive researches; for in all archæological inquiries, a well established fact is perhaps more valuable for its application in other places than for its original local bearing. This road, which is clearly of Roman construction, is formed as you have seen, not of pavement, but of a substructure of rude masses of sandstone built up together six or seven yards wide, and covered with a thick bed of gravel, while in some places, the sod has been previously removed, and a layer of sand spread below. The depth of the road in the centre is between two and three feet, the stone foundation being about one-half. The rounded crest of the road is often plain enough, its course generally straight, and there can be little doubt, that the road at Haydock has been a direct continuation of that at Appleton, and that the whole has been formed by the same engineer. Now, as we know that the Romans had conquered the Brigantes and Cangii A.D., 50,* and that Suetonius Paulinus attacked Anglesey in 61, it seems natural enough that either then, or soon after, when Julius Agricola advanced to the north, which he did from Wales in 78, the road was formed, or at least in a state of formation. A milestone was found on the line a little to the south of Lancaster, inscribed to the Emperor Julius Philippus, who reigned between 244 and 249; but this might be a reparation or renovation at a later period; any way, the construction of the road must have been between 50 and 249.

This road has been traced to the top of Orford Avenue, on the northern line to Warrington, and to the bank of the river Mersey, at Wilderspool, on the south. Between these two points, (a distance of about a mile, through the town of Warrington) no evident trace appears, and the common opinion was, that it went between the Mote Hill and the Church; then by the bank of the river to the old ford at Latchford, and so round by the high ground to Wilderspool. A much nearer route, however, is by Orford Lane, the high ground on the west side of Fennel Street and Mersey Street, (a Roman coin of Marius was dug up last summer in Back Irlam Street, on this very line, and is now in the Warrington Museum), and across the river, by a ford just below the bridge. This ford consisting of a strong bed of gravel, may still be seen when the water is very low, but has been destroyed on the Warrington side, in improving the navigation of the river. It may then have taken the course of, and been buried under Wilderspool "causey," and so joined the road at Wilderspool. I may say that both these statements are hypothetical. The road itself has been most effectually removed.

The fact to which I shall now turn your attention, is the very perfect state of the road in some places compared with its utter destruction in others. Of course, its removal in the neighbourhood of towns is easily understood; and I think that in our investigations this day, a new and unexpected solution of the problem has been obtained at Haydock: you have seen the once-substantial and solidly-built road, crumbling away as it were, and becoming so mixed with the soil, as hardly to be distinguished from it. The soft sandstone has become thoroughly disintegrated, and we

* Tacitus, Ann. c. 32.

find instead of the large ashlers which once formed its basis, a few small and scattered pieces mixed with the gravel, which itself, in many places has been purposely removed.

We must now pass over many years of which we have neither visible remains, historical records, nor household traditions, to a period when we have all of these bearing upon the history of St. Oswald, King of the Northumbrians. Oswald assumed the crown in 634, and according to Beda, "brought under his dominion all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English." He had embraced christianity, and was a zealous propagator of the faith, of which you will find numerous details in Beda's Ecclesiastical History. He was, however, "killed in a great battle by the same pagan nation and pagan king of the Mercians, who had slain his predecessor Edwin, at a place called in the English tongue, Maserfield, in the 38th year of his age, on the 5th of August, in 642."*

Beda goes on to say, that in consequence of the miracles performed where he died, "many took up the very dust of the place where his body fell, and putting it into water, did very much good to their friends who were sick. This custom came so much into use, that the earth being carried away by degrees, there remained a hole as deep as the height of a man;" and strange enough, this is the very state of St. Oswald's well at this day. It is a hole about two feet in diameter, and apparently five or six feet deep, with a little water at the bottom, which has evidently drained from the higher ground, but the hole has not been walled round, and is simply an excavation of the soil.

We have, however, a different account in William of Malmesbury, † who says "that in the insurrection excited by Penda, King of the Mercians, his guards being put to flight, and himself actually carrying a forest of darts in his breast, could not be prevented by the pain of his wounds or the approach of death, from praying for the souls of his faithful companions." The Saxon Chronicle, year 642, says, "This year, Oswald, King of the Northumbrians was slain by Penda, and the Southumbrians, at Maserfeld, on the nones of August, and his body was buried at Bardney."

Florence of Worcester, (anno 642), uses the expression "commisso gravi prælio in loco Maserfeld nuncupato." The Annales Cambriæ under 644, have "the battle (bellum) of Cocboy, in which Oswald, King of the Northmen, and Eoba, King of the Mercians were slain." While the history of Nennius, which is also derived from antient British sources, tells us, that "Penda, son of Pybba, reigned ten years; he first separated the kingdom of Mercia from that of the Northmen, and slew by treachery, Onna, King of the East Anglians, and St. Oswald, King of the Northmen. He fought the battle of Cocboy, in which fell Eona, son of Pippa, his brother, King of the Mercians, and he gained the victory by diabolical agency. He was not baptized, and never believed in God."‡ Geoffroy, of Monmouth, has a totally different detail, though the actors are pretty much the same.

It would be utterly hopeless to reconcile those varying statements, and I should prefer William of Malmesbury, as agreeing best with the traditions of the neighbour-

* Bed., Lib. iii, c. 9. † Lib. i, c. 3. ‡ Mon. His. Brit., p. 76.

hood; according to these, the king lived at Woodshead, where he was set upon by his enemies; he was mortally wounded, and attempting to escape, fell on the slope of the hill. The account I heard when a boy was, that his bowels gushed out, and that he kept them in his hands till he fell.

From Beda's account it follows, that the place was at a distance from any town—and no church was erected on the spot—there was also a frequented road running past it; now all these marks belong to the present locality, and we may proceed to shew that the church of Maserfield, or Mackerfield was in the time of Oswald, at Winwick.

Roger of Poictou, according to the Testa de Neville, gave to the Canons of St. Oswald, at Nostell, in Yorkshire, the church of Winwick, with two carucates of land. In Dugdale's Monasticum, we find that the Priory of Nostell was formed on an old foundation, in the time of William Rufus, and that at the beginning of the reign of Henry I., Stephen, Earl of Moreton, and his chaplain, Roger de Limesey, gave to this priory the church of St. Oswald, in Macrefield, which grant was confirmed by Henry II.* In Domesday Book we are told there were five hides in Newton hundred; of these one was in domain. The church of the manor itself had one carucate of land, and St. Oswald of the vill itself had two carucates of land, free from all claims: thus the church of the manor was distinct from the church of the vill. The King appears in Saxon times to have held all the land except five carucates. In another of the public records—the Proceedings de Quo Warranto, in the time of Edward I—Richard de Waleton claims to be bailiff of the Wapentakes of Derbyshire and Makerfield, by gift of William, Earl of Bulon and Morton, to his ancestor Walter.

That these different documents referred to the same place is certain. The hundred of Newton was the Wapentake of Makerfield, which probably was the name of the royal domain, and so furnished the title to the district now included in the fee of Makerfield. After the death of Oswald, the royal residence seems to have been transferred to another site, to which naturally enough the name of Newton—the New Town or Vill—was given, and this again was transferred to the Hundred. To this period I would refer the formation of the Castle Hill, which might have formed a part of the inclosure of the King's residence. I am not aware that the Hundred of Newton occurs anywhere except in Domesday Book—both it and Warrington hundred merged in West Derby—but the hundred of Makerfield is still extant in a fee of the same name.

The Saxon Kings, who had no civil list, lived upon each of their manors in succession, as long as it would support them; and the piety of Oswald and zeal of St. Aidan would soon found churches all over his kingdom—of course the immediate neighbourhood of the royal manor would not be left destitute of a church—and we know that the division of parishes took place at the introduction of Christianity, or at any rate was confirmed then, and the parish church became the spiritual centre of the district. This is rather oddly confirmed by the tradition of the Pig, which is sculptured in low relief on the steeple. The tradition is, that the church was to have been built near

* Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. ii, p. 35.

the spot where the King was killed, but the stones and materials which were collected there from day to day, were carefully removed during the night. Upon a watch being set, it was found that a pig was the industrious agent of removal, and its natural squeak directed the founders to the present site of Winwick. The reason why the church was not built at Woodshead. was clearly that the church was already at Winwick. This tradition, at least in its present form, is of late origin. The pig is the attendant on St. Anthony, who occupied the niche beside it, and the steeple itself is of the 14th century, and no part of the original structure. It is possible, indeed, that St. Anthony interested himself in the business, and the people recognised him in his pig—(or he may have been mistaken for St. Aidan, an intimate friend of St. Oswald's, though not so well known)—and placed his statue *in rei perpetuam memoriam* in the previous building; but it is not so easy to see how the saint should have been so utterly forgotten, as before the Reformation he must have been a very familiar and well known object to the people. Is it possible that the tradition can have arisen since the 16th century and the downfall of the saint from his niche?

The ornamentation of the transverse limb of the stone cross, now placed at the east end of the church, will put you in mind of the Runic cross discovered in Lancaster, and now in the museum at Manchester. It is of great interest though a mere fragment. Is it a preaching cross erected where Paulinus had stood and taught the doctrines of a purer faith to the inhabitants of Makerfield, with their King amongst the audience? or a sepulchral one to mark the tomb of some forgotten Saxon Saint or Chief? or is it a churchyard cross given by one of the later Saxon Kings, or by the Prior of Nostel when he took possession of the church and fat lands of the rectory in the time of Henry I.? Its dimensions must have been magnificent, far larger than the majority of such crosses, the wheel of which is seldom more than a foot in diameter. The interlaced ornament, though not peculiar to, was usual among the Saxons, and to this period I should refer our specimen, though instances of a later date occur in Ireland.

I shall not keep you long in describing the church. It consists of a nave with clerestory, side aisles, each terminated by a private chapel—chancel, which has just been rebuilt—porch on the south, now converted into a lumber-room—and western tower with a plain spire. The tower is of the flowing decorated period, has a western doorway, a window with a niche on each side—empty—the pig looking to the niche on the right—a door with a flat trefoil-like top inside opens on the stairs—the shafts on the south side of the nave are clustered of four round pillars, the capitals with beaded mouldings and a necking below, and supporting pointed arches, consisting of two square orders, the edges being canted off. The shafts on the north side are octagon, formed of a hollow and a round with fillets, the capitals with fleurs de-lis, or the stalk foliage, cut in the stone, and the bases with a mitred head at the corners—in fact the bases of all the columns are peculiar, and the church would gain a good deal if the present pews were removed and the whole work shewn. The arch mouldings over these shafts are the same as those of the western entrance, and two engaged shafts of the decorated

period form the entrance to the chancel. There are two shafts with square abaci at the western end of the Legh chapel, which contains the brass of Perkin Legh and his wife, and two later marble monuments of the same family. The Gerard chapel on the opposite side is enclosed by a screen of the date 1471, and contains a brass of Piers Gerard, Esq., son and heir of Sir Thomas Gerard, who died 1492. The side aisles and clerestory may have been built by Thomas Johnson, whose name appears in the inscription which is placed beneath the battlements on the outside.

The changes that have been made in the church, however, are so great, and the records connected with its reparation being *res non inventæ*, I shall take up your time no longer with attempting to distinguish the generic features, but pass on to the inscription just alluded to:—

"Hic locus Oswalde quondam placuit tibi valde.
Northanhumbrorum fueras rex, nunequ polorum
Regna tenes; prato prius Marcelde vocato
Poscimus hinc a te nostri memor esto beate
* * *
Anno milleno quingentenoque triceno
Sclater post Cristum murum renovaverit istum
Henricus Johnson curatus, erat simul hic tunc."

Makerfield is here latinized into Pratum Marcelde or Markeldsfield. The wall was rebuilt it appears in 1530, and the inscription with it, for the four first lines belong to an earlier period. The word Sclater, in the last line but one, I suppose is a proper name, but whether architect or churchwarden or something else, I am unable to say. Henry Johnson's name appears in deeds of that date; but in what sense are we to understand the word curatus?

In connexion with the present subject, we find in the Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, p. 66, App. 2. Calendar of Letters, &c., in the Wakefield Tower, the following—"494, Roger, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to the King—praying aid against certain persons who had seized the churches of Leceh' [Leigh pronounced still with the guttural] Bury and Wynwyke, 29 Jan. 1264."

A few words on the "Bloody Stone" which is placed at the edge of the footpath opposite Park Barns, and I have done. The tradition is, that some great person was killed there, and the marks of the supposed blood-stains are still visible after a shower. A more particular account says, that it was a Scotch lady who was beheaded by Oliver Cromwell after Red Bank fight—which took place here—and a field on the east side of the road is said to have derived its name of Gallows Croft, at the same time, from a number of soldiers having been hanged there by the same redoubtable commander. Cromwell, however, following a beaten enemy as hard as he could, and when every hour was precious, would hardly linger on his way to behead women or hang his prisoners. The Gallows Croft is at the verge of the township, and may have been the site of the original baronial gallows, when the Baron of Mackerfield rejoiced in that important addition to his state. Mr. Beamont first suggested that the Bloody Stone, which certainly was in Newton Park, might be the place where the Welsh Knight, who had usurped the

Castle of Haigh and the Lady Mabel, was killed by the real Lord, Sir William Bradshaigh on his return from the Holy Land. This event, if it took place at all, would be in the reign of Edward I., and about the time when the church tower was built.

I have now gone through the facts and traditions connected with the history of Winwick to the 16th century. The township is decreasing in population, but whether it and Newton were ever the great towns which popular tradition would make them, may be doubted. They were certainly Royal Manors before the conquest, and Culcheth (in the parish of Winwick) has been assigned by high authority, as the site of many synods of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Many charters are dated from Cælchyth, or Cælichyth—and the place is called Kilsha by the country people. We have also one of the farm houses moated round, and called the "Old Abbey;" but when or why this name was given, is utterly unknown. It seems to point to some ecclesiastical building of remote antiquity.

Before the Meeting separated, several gentlemen expressed their individual gratification at the proceedings of the day; and on behalf of their respective Societies their best thanks, for the honour which had been done them.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A Special General Meeting, called by the Council for the revision of the Laws, was held in the Royal Institution, on Thursday the 15th of April, at half-past one, p.m.,

Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., V.P., in the Chair.

The following is the substance of the alterations recommended by the Council, all of which were adopted unanimously:—

Law I.—The expression was assimilated to the terms of the original Prospectus.

Law III.—A date which was necessary only at the formation of the Society, was cancelled.

Law IV.—A similar date cancelled.

Law VI.—A clause was inserted requiring a retiring member to give a written notice, and to pay up all his arrears.

Law VIII.—An unnecessary descriptive period was cancelled.

Law IX.—Several dates like those in III. and IV. were cancelled.

Law XV.—This, which was entitled "Powers of Council, as to Stipendiary Officers, Servants, &c.," was re-written, but without altering its effect.

Law XIX.—The privileges of Honorary Members were modified, so as not necessarily to be for life.

Law XXII.—Each Member was authorised to introduce two gentlemen, not Members, at any of the ordinary meetings.

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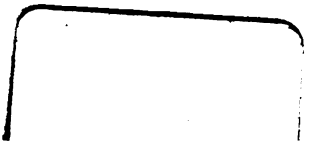

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